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'Veganism would put an end to the treatment meted out to animals in factory farms'

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

CHARLES GILLESPIE'S ARTICLE about the alleged reduction in world food supply ("Why your grocery bill is about to hurt," March 10) has won the long line of Multistatus protesters an element of sorry-but-it's-wrong. According to UN data, food availability has improved dramatically over the past few decades. The average person in the developing world has experienced a 46 per cent increase in available calories and the proportion of malnourished people in those areas has dropped from 50 per cent to just 16.7 per cent. Even with population growth, the UN expects these trends to continue at least until 2039.

Climate change may have a negative impact, but in reality will be very modest. According to the most pessimistic models and the most pessimistic climate impacts, the total reduction in agricultural output over that period will be 1.4 per cent, compared to a scenario with no climate change. This compares to an annual average growth rate over the past 16 years of 1.7 per cent. At worst, increases in food production in developed countries will exceed those in developing countries, leading to increased imports.

World food production is constantly increasing, even if costs are lower now than they were five years ago. Food supply is one of the world's great good news stories, not a reason for hand-wringing.

Bob Lyman, Ottawa

WHY IS ALL of this fuss about the global food supply such a surprise? And do Canadians think it will get better? The misinformation promoted by the likes of Al Gore and David Suzuki are misleading precious resources to pursuing our political agendas. This has resulted in expensive subsidies, massive agricultural expansion and collection and application of carbon penalties. What this means for Canadians is that their wealth, both personally and collectively, will continue to diminish. Businesses will close and move to more amenable tax-friendly regions. Canadians will lose jobs and we will all continue to see price increases in absolutely everything that we consume/purchase. All because we and our governments (local, provincial and federal) have bought into the propaganda of the "science" being clear.

There was a meeting in New York City between March 2-6, 2006, called the Inter-

national Conference on Climate Change. Ninety-eight speakers and 400 participants (university professors of climatology, scientists in other fields and others from around the world) were in attendance. The theme of the conference: there is no scientific consensus on the causes or likely consequences of global warming.

Regrettably, we have chosen the wrong side of the scientific debate. And we will continue to pay for it. That is the politically and scientifically irresponsible truth.

Dr. Victor Kautler, Burlington, Ont.

THANK YOU for a very timely article explaining issues involved in the world food supply



Last June I went to a sustainability fair and shared with a representative of a local vegetarian organization. I was provided with the following information: If everyone became vegan, this only bringing plant-based products including soy and legumes, we could feed 10 billion people worldwide. Vegetarians or better yet vegans would put an end to the horrific treatment meted out to animals, both and fish in factory farms. Vegetarians or vegans are beneficial to health, as reported by both the Canadian and American dietetic associations, resulting in weight loss, lower cholesterol and risk of high blood pressure, cholesterol, stroke, heart disease, some cancers and osteoporosis, to name only a partial list. This information was enough to convince me I hadn't been a vegan for and have loved the food I have lost some weight and feel more

energetic. Most importantly I now feel that I am part of the solution instead of part of the problem.

Mike Jan, Ottawa

WHY DOESN'T ANYONE mention the fact that we are covering our land with concrete? I have aerial photos of Toronto in the '90s and Highway 404 is far north of the city running through prime farmland. By 1970, photos showed housing and industrial development with very few farms in sight. In city London, Ont., area not only is the city expanding over prime farmland, but all of the satellite towns, like Alderson, Ayr, Godwin, Lucan and Thamesdale, are developing subdivisions at an alarming rate, all on prime farmland. Many small towns are now starting to complain about the town having difficulty handling the rapid expansion.

This is the same scenario in every urban community in southern Ontario, where we have the longest growing season, and some of the most productive farmland in the world. The problem of the lack of corn, and other grain crops, is not the lack of production, but the lack of prime space to increase production. When I see the glorified land that built the Third World is trying to make produce I feel relieved.

Robert Gauder, Ayr, Ont.

BEING BOTH a grain producer and an environmentalist, I tend to wobble when the story about food prices. While your writer correctly points out that grain prices have risen in recent months, it is probably worth looking at prices within a somewhat longer time frame. Over the course of my lifetime of 40 years, corn is up in price about fivefold. By comparison, during the same time frame, the price of your magazine has risen more than tenfold and the oil used to deliver it to my mailbox is up more than over 100fold. Viewed within that larger context, it would appear that other costs are still a pretty good value at the newsstands and of producers are overpaid.

Bob Galt, Troy, Ont.

KANGAROO COURT?

I RECENTLY read in the *Star* an undated allegation that the human rights market is a disgrace ("I prefer living with space lions," Steps, March 10). I am proud to say

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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF ELIOT SPITZER

Having built his own reputation by cracking down on the bad deeds of others, New York's governor was reportedly caught on a federal wiretap—identified by sources as “Cheney 9”—making plans to meet up in Washington last month with a high-priced broker. The alleged link to a prostitution ring prompted Spencer, with his wife, Silda, by his side, to appear briefly in front of reporters on Monday. The 41-year-old father of three spokeout but refused to take questions.

Good news

A market in bloom

A lot of Canadians are killing winter-factoring companies. The U.S. economy is a luxury recession, but it is not one of our cold Canada's job markets should be in the dumps. Transient, the economy generated almost 50,000 more jobs than last in the first two months of the year—a period in which the U.S. shed 85,000 jobs. B.C. alone managed to fill an estimated one million openings by 2020. This month it's opening winter-winter workers from Toronto and Montreal with a \$400,000 of campaign showcasing B.C. spring flowers, shrubs in bloom, and promises of "discrete jobs." Even's hoping we can keep blooming, even as the economy to our south turns to landfill.

Shattering silence

Determining the number of women, many of them Muslim, killed to make a family's home is like trying to lay hands on a ghost, many instances of unreported, much less published, deaths may be changing. Last Sunday, a prosecutor in Jordan laid murder charges against the brother and two cousins of a 30-year-old woman that died along with her boyfriend. And last week, an Arab news agency on Israel reported a full sentence of 36 years for his part in the slaying of his 28-year-old sister, Haniada Abu Ghazwan. Haniada was the eighth woman in her disturbed in seven years, but the first whose murder was not prosecuted by domestic officers. 20 of her female relatives testified, including Azzama Abu Ghazwan, the mother of the victim and the accused.

To your health!

Laysen up, goody-goodies: you're making your lives by not downing just a beer once in a while. Don't

Bad news

Unfunny money

You could account for a list with \$5 trillion, or even trillions out, not very much at all. That astonishing figure is the actual cost to date of America's war in Iraq, says a new book by Joseph Stiglitz, a Nobel laureate and former chief economist for the World Bank. Second only to the price of the Second World War, the war now gobbles up \$181.25 billion a month—\$16 billion if you include Afghanistan (equal to the annual budget of the US

People in the real world may not be in awe. Claims this week by Chinese authorities that they thwarted a terrorist plot raise as many questions as answers should visitors to the nation during the Games? Or was this an excuse to stop up Beijing's well-documented efforts to silence Uyghur dissidents in the country's northwest? There came across that one of the world's greatest mass theorists, Hsinfe Gerdanlian of Edohogis, has opted out of the Games because of the city's air pollution—a predictable acknowledgment of an obvious problem. China may think it's ready to welcome the world. The IOC might agree. The rest of us still need convincing.

Binned sins

But all you want, but make sure to recycle the packaging. As part of a modernization push, the Vatican has updated its list of the seven deadly sins, downgrading adultery like gluttony and lust in favour of "new" crimes of the soul like excessive wealth, drug abuse and polluting the environment. But the greatest modern dangers, says Archbishop Gianfranco Girotti, are "theological violations" like stem-cell research. The change of emphases came too late to save Elton Satter.

Take this job and...

More evidence to confirm what you already know: work status no matter what you do has a big impact. According to one new study among home employees in Canada, evidence of "extraordinary" amounts of physical violence and racism. Another team of researchers found that bullies in the work force, who harass and cause colleagues, are causing even more psychological damage than sex and harassment. ■

FACE OF THE WEEK



A YOUNG BOY looks at the door of a religious school in Jerusalem where a Palestinian woman killed at least eight people last week.

Old softies

Moore—who died as the Democratic nomination, Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, are both so happy about anything America is getting older. In a study that debunks the popular assumption, researchers at the University of Vermont have discovered that people actually become more liberal and tolerant as they age, not conservative and rigid. Sixty is considered the magic age.

or four times the World Health Organization's). The bigger problems, argues Hignite, are the facilities and dedicated staff, like health care for veterans that will sap budgets for decades to come. To make matters worse, a Pentagon report released this week that, after reviewing thousands of documents seized in Iraq, it's clear there was no operational link between al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein's regime.

Welcome to Beijing

To Olympic officials, holding the Summer Games in Beijing was an idea whose time had come.

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON SVEND'S SURPRISE AND THE WOMEN WHO DINED ON PINK BUT SAW RED

A PARTY FOR SVEND

Svend Robinson was surprised with a party in the parliament any anniversary or birthday the 20th anniversary of his coming out in *Canada's* first gay MP. The bash was organized by NDP House leader Libby Davies and Ed Sikora, who was a Robinson staffer back in 1985 and is now an MP himself. Robinson's constituency office was trashed while he attended the event, and he was told he was no longer welcome at a Catholic high school to which he had donated a teachers' scholarship. Robinson says that years later he read that the head of the school who told him he wasn't welcome was charged with sexual relations with a student. There were other stories, too. "Brian Mulroney ended up asking me if the Toronto line was 'Toughie' or 'Svend' Robinson as a member of national defence?" So we immediately had business made up saying 'Svend for the Minister' and did them across the country. Afterwards I showed Brian for being one of our most effective fundraisers. [But] the irony is that, generally speaking, Brian was very supportive in terms of policy issues. It was under Brian Mulroney that John Crosbie, the minister of justice [and current lieutenant governor of Newfoundland and Labrador], announced that [the federal government] would end all discrimination based on sexual orientation." Robinson was now working at the NDP and living in Collingwood, a small town in Ontario, with his partner of 21 years, Marc Brenne. He says he is still getting chastised for coming out. Recently in the Vancouver report, an older woman gazed said, "I want to thank you. My son was gay and when he came out, his father and I really struggled to understand it. We always liked you and it made it a lot easier for us to accept our son."



SVEND ROBINSON in Ottawa, flanked by Brian Mulroney, center (left) Helen George with Alvin Pines, center (right) Ron Anwar, (below left) Alvin Pines, (below right) Helen George, (below left) Alvin Pines, (below right) Helen George, (below left) Alvin Pines, (below right) Helen George.

BEEH AND FREEDOM

Sometimes the Times' MP couple needs to appear the glass on around. On the occasion that, Helen George hosted an evening in the "Lester B. Pearson House" for the first time. Two days later the *Alvin Pines* were hosted by Bev Oda, minister of international cooperation, who announced that the government will match dollar for dollar the efforts of 11-year-old Alvin Pines of B.C.,

in his lower house. Meanwhile, on the occasion that, Helen George hosted an evening in the "Lester B. Pearson House" for the first time. Two days later the *Alvin Pines* were hosted by Bev Oda, minister of international cooperation, who announced that the government will match dollar for dollar the efforts of 11-year-old Alvin Pines of B.C.,

who started Little Women for Little Women in Afghanistan and to date has raised \$100,000 to help Afghan children. At the reception, Minister of International Affairs Minister Ron Anwar told that where the Afghan President Hamid Karzai during his Canadian visit he said, "Congratulations, you have more women parliamentarians than your first parliament that we have had in 38."

PASS THE PINK BUNS

Jane Knicker held a women only party in her home for female journalists and liberal parliamentarians in honor of International Women's Week. Apart from women, the only T chromosomes in the place belonged to her husband, Stephen. Pink food was served in clear plastic cups and on pink buns. The MPs arrived late because of a veteran Tory MP Ken Epp's private member's bill C-484, "The Unborn Victims of Crime Act," which would argue that abortion rights by recognizing the fetus as a person if a pregnant woman is harmed. Several of the women MP's were there because the bill passed second reading. Why? It was all thanks to the handful of liberal MP's who voted for it.

BUCKLE UP, PINKS

Buckley Buckle is flying out every three days. The PMO can monitor director & on the air and now has a call on her right hand, on the side of the West Street sign or her last spot. Buckle's every three days to get her back to her workplace. She is on the air. Say! #

ON THE HILL: For more Ottawa news or to contact the author, visit www.macleans.ca/ottawahill

Spitzer's undoing? Sex and interstate commerce.



ANDREW COYNE

While the rest of you were drinking in the salacious details of the *Blair Spitzer* case, eyes anxiously drawn to each word, I was, as described in my recent conversation, for "things that, like, you might not think were safe," I heard racing at the *New York Times* edition, Edith Wharton's depiction of the type ("Mrs. Spitzer, having already passed through the lobby, with its wing doors and its glass half-door, arrived in a small room in a quiet corner of the 'Club House'... A landscape had surrounded the flow. Two photos of the Capitol and the Washington Monument—framing beside a wood-framed mirror... An association of more than an hour ended"), I could perhaps wonder to the question of what it, too, might have to say to you. Where was I? Ah yes, while you lot were wallowing in the muck, I, your servant, was asked by a more pliant reporter (a point: they're going to tell you under the *Memo Act*).

The act, famously used to prosecute such rogues as Jack Johnson, Chuck Berry, Charlie Chaplin and Charles Manson, is one of those oddities of American constitutional law, not much as it is, not prostitution, but, in its interpretation, on the language of the act, the transportation of a female across state lines "for immoral purposes." As it happens, that is precisely what the governor is alleged to have arranged along a Washington on the eve of St. Valentine's Day—he was to testify the next day at a hearing on based on a case—and finding the local law, apparently, despite the fact, he is alleged to have contracted with the now notorious Empire City Club (bounty, elegance, crudeness, and colonialist standing) under circumstances that are preliminary to the case (but in here) that a gay delivered from New York. That's what made it a federal case.

Such use of the use of the federal government power Congress being anxious in the enormous climate of 1993, to crack down on prostitution, but Congress looking the powers, under the constitution, to do any such thing—prostitution being a state crime—Congress, at the urging of Rep. James Robert Mann, in 1906 the scheme of reviving the power assigned to it under Article I of the constitution to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." From that one clause, spanning, over the years, a whole range of federal regulatory powers, from inland waters to meat-packing to much of the New Deal, as the meaning of "commerce" was widened through the shifts of judicial

the person or persons involved had crossed a state line. (Of course, that need involved no question of state law. In United States v. Jensen (1944), the district court of Iowa ruled that, when a car full of girls approaches a state line, the mere expectation of having the girls get out and walk across the line, then get back in the car for the rest of the trip, was not sufficient to make it coast in two separate journeys.)

The moral of this internal story is the power to regulate internal trade, what we in Canada would call the economic union, is not only a very big stick indeed. The one-state commerce power was a major force, more constitutional scholar agree, in the rise of the American federal government to



While you were wallowing in the muck, I was looking for the constitutional angle. I found it.

interpretation, did it mean mere trade, or the whole range of human interaction? As chief justice John Marshall observed in an early commerce power case, "commerce, undoubtedly, is traffic, but it is something more—it is intercourse."

Which, as being on back to the *Memo Act*, formally described in "an act to further regulate interstate commerce and foreign commerce by prohibiting the transportation therein for immoral purposes of women and girls" (but what were immoral purposes?) The act "prohibition and denunciation," but also "very other immoral purpose." So it was that the *Memo Act* case came to be used not just against the white slave trade but its own targeted target, but against all manner of activities deemed immoral, from prostitution to polygamy—just so long as

we could do with such problems. So it is with antiquarianism, and not alone, that I note the parallel between the interstate commerce power and our own "trade and commerce" power, which the Harper government, as the *Times* speaks, promised to bring out of mothballs—in the end, it is, of course, the federal government's right to leadership in strengthening Canada's economic union.

The passage was little noted at the time, and its significance has been debated since. But if the Harper government is to be the potential to substantially alter the federal provincial balance of power, an *Act* Spitzer could stress. #

ON THE HILL: For more Andrew Coyne visit his blog at www.macleans.ca/ottawahill

Terrorists in search of a cause rarely have a plan



ANDREW POTTER

The most successful terrorist organizations in North America hit struck again, though you probably didn't hear much about it. That's because everyone's attention was focused early this month on New York City, where a makeshift rally-yahoo-a-bayle tore its horns at the military recruiting booth in Times Square. The band—which appears to have had an explosive power equivalent to three boxes of Reddies—produced a loud bang, a cloud of white smoke, and the usual perplexed speculation about some shadowy Caucasian connection.

Meanwhile, clear across the continent, it was another productive day at the office for the Earth Liberation Front. On March 3, arsonists destroyed a row of Mobil stations in a rural county north of Seattle, with total damages estimated at \$7 million. Some pointed to a bedsheet found hanging in a tree at the site were some anti-development slogans, with the signature "ELF."

The Earth Liberation Front was founded in the early nineties as the radical direct-action wing of the Earth First! movement, which had achieved a certain level of mass popularity and was looking to maintain good public relations by focusing on non-violent protest. Since then, the ELF has evolved into an independence entity devoted (according to its own press release) to the use of "economic sabotage and guerrilla warfare to stop the exploitation and destruction of the natural environment."

Aspiring guerrillas, the ELF's remarkably prolific output. Since 1998, it has been linked to well over 700 criminal acts in North America, with total damages exceeding \$100 million. This includes \$11 million worth of arson at a Wal do resort in 1998 and a fire that destroyed a 200-unit apartment complex in San Diego in 2003.

There has been some speculation as to

whether or not the ELF was actually responsible for the latest conflagration in Seattle, but these people misinterpreted the way the group operates. The ELF is not an "organization" in the normal sense of the word, with a hierarchical command-and-control structure. Instead, it is a "leaderless resistance" group made up of small and completely autonomous self-organizing cells. There are no official meetings or ELF representatives, and even the name "Earth Liberation Front" is basically a slogan of inspiration, not coordination. All it takes for something to qualify as an ELF action is for someone to say that it is.

In fact, the ELF has a strong resemblance to the domestic incarnation of al-Qaeda. During the 1990s, al-Qaeda Central was a fairly rough-hewn, hierarchical organization that drew recruits from across the Middle East to its training camps in Afghanistan. But WU was far too successful, and since

A 2003 ARSON attack on a Seattle campus, claimed by ELF



What often fuels the fire of domestic terrorism is not ideology, but alienation

then, with its leadership either dead or in hiding, al-Qaeda has been transformed into a "leaderless jihad."

In the context of domestic terrorism (both the neo- and Islamic versions), what's interesting is that it is precisely the absence of both leadership and specific doctrine that is the secret to their success. As anyone who has spent any time hanging out with various environmentalists knows, there is no ideological hair so fine that it can't be split across ways from Seattle, which is why when most former radicals look back upon their activist days, what they remember most of all are the meetings that laid off and resumed shortly after lunch.

The ELF's leaderless cell structure gets around the seemingly insurmountable problem by emphasizing action over theory. Basically, the ELF's attitude is, "go ahead and destroy housing developments and SUV dealerships,

but we don't particularly care why you do it." The unsurprising consequence of this self-first/thank-never approach is that it tends to attract a large number of disaffected and violence-prone young men, many of whom are not so much pro-environment as they are anti-authority. What fuels their fire is not ideology, but alienation.

Similarly, in the current case of Foreign Propaganda, James C. Davis officer Mark Saperstein argues that the new generation of Islamic terrorists are little more than "homegrown wannabes," alienated young men "seeking shelter and a sense of significance and belonging in their lives."

There is good news and bad news here. The bad news is that leaderless and thrill-seeking young men can become violent and unpredictable, given the slightest cause and a smidgen of motivation. Here, it turns out that the notorious Toronto 18 were little more than jihad-potential playing pinball

up near Washington, but given some and a bit of luck they still might have managed to wreak some havoc.

The good news is that self-recruiting, leaderless resistance is an inherently self-limiting form of organization. As shown by the successes of the ELF, it is good at producing a large number of relatively meaningless acts of vandalism, but it is hard to scale up from that to a serious 9/11-style terrorist attack.

What this means is that the worse we have to fear from domestic Islamic terrorism is that it will become like the Earth Liberation Front—an ongoing but entirely manageable and unconvincingly annoying. Even better, there is the hope that since vandalism isn't his best appeal, and getting attached into court in handcuffs even less so, the domestic form of al-Qaeda will eventually just wither away. We can hurry this process along, I argue, by making sure we don't overreact to domestic terrorism by responding to every attack with an additional contribution of military might and 45 pump-ups. Instead, we should consider the next best group of domestic vandals. By managing them to the common criminals they are, we can deny them the glory they seek. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at www.macleans.com/canada/potter



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'It's as shocking to have a former KGB official running Russia as it would be to have a former SS colonel running Germany'

RUSSIA EXPERT EDWARD LUCAS TALKS TO CHARLIE GILLIS ABOUT AUTHORITARIANISM, THE NEW COLD WAR, AND POLONIUM THREATS

Edward Lucas has spent the past 20 years working as a journalist in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, covering the heady days at the end of the Cold War. Then came the rise of President Vladimir Putin and the Kremlin's crackdown on dissent—developments that transformed the British reporter from a detailed observer into a passionate advocate for a headline stance against Moscow. In his book, *The New Cold War*, Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West, Lucas calls for more of the country's authoritarian style and its impact on the world beyond. Now an Eastern Europe correspondent for *The Economist* magazine, Lucas spoke to *Charlie's* about Russia's new found conservatism, and why the complacent West must take notice.

Q Anne Polchinskaya, the Russian reporter who was assassinated, was a friend of yours. Her name and initials had appeared on an online "death list" shortly before the killing. Another of your past friends who had been critical of the Kremlin appeared on a similar list and now lives in fear. Is it fair to say the story of post-Soviet Russia has gotten personal for you?

A: It is personal in many ways. One is that I grew up with the Cold War very present in my life. I remember my father [an Oxford academic] rising his freedom by smuggling the works of Greek philosophers into Prague, giving them to people willing to risk their

freedom to discuss them. That left quite an impression. I was also there for the collapse of Communism, and it was a great few years of my life. A lot of my friends were jailed during the Communist era and then went on to become politicians and journalists. I don't want to see all that being undone now.

Q You're more aware of far-right anger about Russia, and about Vladimir Putin. How do you respond?

A: If it's second alarm, it's because I'm alarmed. I travel all over the region and I see that Russia's grabbing back land. I also worry about what's happening inside Russia. I'm not prepared to let back and say Russia's always been authoritarian and imperialist and we have to get on with it. It's not good for Russia and it's certainly not good for us.

Q You do, however, compare the West's view of Russia today to the one we held in the 1930s. You also draw a parallel to Neville Chamberlain's abandonment of Nazi Germany.

A: I'm trying to wake people up. I think we're living in a pretty deep sleep about Russia. The West's been a lot of winking and nodding. I was the companion with the Third Reich because it's important to remember that the two totalitarian regimes were pretty similar before the war. Stalin was killing more people than Hitler at that time, and we tend to forget how much the Soviet nuclear pact still overshadows Russia. So I make the historical comparisons to people will remember. When Putin says the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact [an anti-aggression

between Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939, which divided the potential spoils of war in eastern Europe] is legal, that would be as shocking as if a German leader said the Anschluss, or the dismantlement of Czechoslovakia, was legal. It's as shocking, in a way, to have a former KGB official run Russia as it would be to have a former SS colonel running Germany.

Q Why do we project hope rather than pessimism about Russia?

A: Part of it is a journalistic laziness. We're gotten used to the idea that Russia's okay, that it's a partner. That's a very comforting position, and it's been the dominant theme in the West for 10 years now. Just don't think I'm assisted by facts anymore.

Q One of the pivotal developments in post-Soviet Russia has been the rise of former KGB operatives and their transformation into a political force. Did the role of the world fall in a way what you hoped for?

A: The KGB made a few mistakes. Because of the nature in fact of KGB headquarters [being pulled down in the Cold War ended] made us feel that it had been toppled, just like the SS in West Germany. It came quite close to that, they had also been hanging during that time when people wanted the private sector, and the result of the world wrote off the KGB as a force. In actual fact, it was being reborn and repped up throughout the 1990s. The old operative Yevgeny Prigozhin came back to head the foreign intelligence service, and by the time Putin became

head of what is now the FSB, he didn't look that different from the previous lot. When Putin became prime minister [in 1999], Prigozhin had already been in that position. And then we had that series of spectacular terrorist attacks in Moscow, blamed on the Chechens, which gave Putin the perfect opportunity to be tough. Soon after that came 9/11, and Putin said he was outside on the war on terror. We were in the mood for someone pretty tough to run Russia.

Q Dmitry Medvedev, the president-elect, is not typically a product of that system, though. He is often dismissed as Putin's puppet, but he has given voice to some liberal sounding ideas about freedom and the rule of law. Are we short-sighted here?

A It's been a very efficient, loyal trickster to Putin. And yes, there's always a chance that Medvedev's liberal Christian will turn into something as practical as the authorities were involved.

Q You make the case that Russia is certainly only as normal as its neighbors, but at the same time a dangerous neighbor. How do you get the West concerned in Russia if its outside behavior affects only those within its region?

A: It's true that, unlike the last Cold War, this is mainly a European issue. What does interest the West is the Baltics, which are now our NATO allies. When members of the [Kremlin-supported] Helsinki group movement blocked the Russian embassy [in April 2007] and mobbed the Swedish ambassador's car as it tried to visit, an Estonian diplomat was very openly described the effective Western response as "a bit of a mess." So the message is: we're not going to let them do that. It's not because we're not going to let them do that. It's not because we're not going to let them do that. It's not because we're not going to let them do that.

Q You do point Western corporations and stock markets as an Kremlin's enabler, for putting profits and business ahead of the West's own values. Can you explain why?

A: We've dropped almost all of our standards when it comes to Russia as a business. We've got to get back a level test. I'm all in favor of encouraging legitimate business into Western stock markets. My problem is with what I call post-state entities—phony companies like Gazprom, which are basically the oil and gas divisions of Kremlin rule, and which can't answer questions on ownership and related party transactions in a way that they'd usually be required to in New York. But they're allowed to move to London instead, and I think that's a mistake. I sincerely would like to see Western banks, law firms and accountants to deny money from shareholders of Gazprom and other companies. I think we've completely lost our moral compass.

a democracy with them and plant these seeds in an apartment block—all as a test of authoritarian vigilance on the part of the public. It just doesn't add up. Apart from the fact the Chechens have never done anything like this, the subscription was clearly unrepresentative with a likely explanation when they were caught by the locals with what appeared to be real explosives. So that twisted stories and made up this thing about sugar. There's no definitive proof, but the balance of evidence is that the authorities were involved.

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Q I think there's confusion in the West, even at the highest political levels, of the degree to which Putin reflects the popular will. If his aims really were what he provides, what can the rest of the world really do?

A: First, one has to pick apart whether he's really doing what Russians want. I think a lot of pro-Putin sentiment is actually apathy, and 2005-2006 relations against a globally new that we've perhaps underestimated. Secondly, a lot of what appears to be pro-Putin sentiment is actually propaganda staged for television and that sort of thing. Then there's the high price of oil. While on the surface one can say Putin is very popular, one has to ask if Putin had Voltaire's oil price and vice versa, what Putin's popularity ranking might be. So I don't think this pro-Putin stuff is completely solid, and I don't think we can shroud the people in Russia in this idea that



'We've dropped all of our standards when it comes to Russian business—lost our moral compass'

the country will shoot authoritarianism and empire. Russia also has a human history of being campaigning for human rights and freedom. It's almost naïve to say, oh, the Russians don't really want democracy.

Q Any response out of Russia to your book?

A: The Russians and the embassy in London have turned down my publisher's invitations to publicly debate me. Not from official Russia. I do get extremely unpleasant emails, including one that is titled me to "come and taste our polonium." A person with thicker skin might be intimidated. ■

THE QUIET MAN AND THE UPROAR

Ian Brodie, Harper's top aide, may yet survive the NAFTA fracas. It helps that he's indispensable. BY JOHN CEDDES



NAFTA: Brodie can't escape a party without Brodie and Harper go back to the days of the so-called 'Calgary School' in the 1990s.

Until recently, Ian Brodie's reputation could be described as quietly closed, day-long meals briefing—called a lock-up—for the federal budget, Brodie patrolled the room, chatting casually with dozens of journalists. At one point, he happily played down talk about both Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama threatening to demand a renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Brodie aggressively refused to inform the Canadian government had gathered suggesting Clinton was not serious.

That comment left them CIV, then U.S. journalists, to dig for the background of Brodie's remark. The files show how divided from Clinton in Ottawa, and a Canadian diplomatic scene unfolded. It manifested a meeting between an Ottawa newsroom chief and the Canadian consul general in Chicago, in which the adviser passionately suggested the Clinton secretary's non-NAFTA talk was more pointing than policy. Clinton jumped on the news as evidence her role was decisive.

Not been confirmed. Last month, during a closed, day-long meals briefing—called a lock-up—for the federal budget, Brodie patrolled the room, chatting casually with dozens of journalists. At one point, he happily played down talk about both Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama threatening to demand a renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Brodie aggressively refused to inform the Canadian government had gathered suggesting Clinton was not serious.

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ing Democrats, and Obama was forced to repeatedly deny the claim in the Canadian media. Harper was embarrassed. "We're going to investigate that entire matter," he vowed last week, "and take whatever action is deemed necessary, based on the facts we are able to discover."

Nobody is indispensable in politics, but Brodie comes close in the Harper machine. He was forced to resign, the hole he'd leave behind would be gaping. He is a bridge between the Conservative party between his old Tory branch and modern reform wing. He combines serious credentials in a conservative thinker with battle proven skills as a Conservative organizer. His presence broods over all top players in the Harper team, notably campaign chief Doug Young, an unlikely knight. And in a government's often defined by Harper's sharp edge, the soft-spoken Brodie provides, at least among intimates, an essential counterbalance.

No wonder many Tories can't imagine

Harper dropping him, no matter what. Harper predicts Brodie will keep his job because the odds in a quiet—no comment to journalists and a diplomatic note slipped in represent—was not as obvious. "We need to separate the two," he said.

Still, Harper has asked his mostly non-partisan top barometer, Kevin Lynch, the clerk of the Privy Council, to investigate, and if Lynch recommends disciplinary action against, say, a Foreign Affairs official, or perhaps a lower-level political operative, Harper might not be able to avoid pointing at least some blame on the much more powerful man who repeatedly set the whole affair in motion.

Brodie is, in some ways, a kind of shogun for the Prime Minister. Like Nelson, he was born and raised in Ontario, but came of age intellectually at the University of Calgary. Both men's political convictions grew out of their rejection of Pierre Trudeau's legacy—the young Harper angry over Liberal economic policies that clashed with the 1980 National Energy Policy, Brodie reacting against the exposure of Vancouver group's close connection with the 1983 Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Brodie stood out early as a promising thinker. McGill University political science professor Christopher Manfredi remembers an undergraduate of unusual "intellectual seriousness." But Brodie wasn't just smart. "He always had a high interest in public service," Manfredi recalls, "and I think he was always a really conservative." Given his right-wing leanings, it made sense for Brodie to move far pastide studies to the University of Calgary, then a hotbed of conservative ideas on politics, economics, and history. It was there that Brodie met Harper, an older economics student.

Both were under the sway of the so-called "Calgary School," a cluster of U of C conservatives like economist Robert Menzies and oil-trail scientist Roger Gifford. Brodie's lay contact was Ted Morton, then a politics professor, now a provincial politician in Alberta's Tory government. Morton encouraged his star student's interest in the way court did shape society outside the arena of democratic politics, but his influence went deeper than theory. "Brodie took on the same intense moralism, personal life, like that sort of cause," recalls Morton. It's a contemporary of Brodie's at the University of Calgary, and now an expert on polling at Lehigh College. The social conservative belief, however, has not followed Brodie into public life. One newspaper profile described him as "a fiscal conservative, not a social conservative."

But Brodie was attracted not to taxes and

spending, but to values and rights. Graduating with a Ph.D. in 1995, he joined the faculty at the University of Western Ontario. In 1998, he published *Principles of the Court: The Privy Council of the Supreme Court of Canada*, a critique of the way judges lay out rights activists, feminists, and minority language communities advance their political causes through the courts.

Brodie's close study of the courts can make him sound like the ultimate wonk. But the book is grounded in a more sweeping analysis of Canadian politics since the 1960s. Brodie has written, with Morton, that the Liberal governments of Lester Pearson and, especially, Trudeau, used the power of the state to reshape society, creating new Canadian symbols, promoting bilingualism and multiculturalism, funding interest groups, and spawning "wildly successful" interest in law reform and rights issues. The underlying argument: that Liberals didn't respond to a changing society; they propelled the

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Brodie soon moved to Ottawa as deputy chief of staff in Harper's office, the official Opposition leader. After Harper won the right and won the leadership of the new Conservatives, Brodie was appointed the party's first national director. (It was actually Brodie's wife, Vals—derived a significant player in an event organizer for the party—who approached Brodie's top aide, then Tim Flanagan, about appointing her husband to manage the party.)

After the Tories lost to Paul Martin's Liberals in 2004, Brodie took on organizing a national policy convention in Montreal. It was a critical meeting point, allowing the party to adopt moderate positions, cooling hot but soon by declaring support for official bilingualism and sovereignty to pass any new law on abortion. Brodie attended to details, personally interviewing Saskatchewan's anti-trust trade minister David Orchard, for instance,

that he wouldn't be allowed

ORANGE had to repeatedly deny that he was only producing



HE WAS A COMING SCHOLAR, THERE'S NO DOUBT ABOUT IT

change. The new Conservatives is arguably a bid to reverse all that.

Brodie made enough of a splash that other academics were taken aback when he put his university career on hold in 2007 to try politics full time. "He took on the politics angle just as his academic career was about to take off," says Manfredi. "He was a coming scholar, there's no doubt about it," agrees McMaster University political science professor emerita Janet Ajzenstat. And Brodie didn't even jump into the most professed role of deep policy thinker himself, he got his first wetting for a candidate in a south-western Ontario by-election. It was a key test of Harper's leadership of the Canadian Alliance, and the party lost. But Brodie had worked closely

with Doug Young, the beginning of a partnership that new Conservatives. They bedeviled Brodie soon moved to Ottawa as deputy chief of staff in Harper's office, the official Opposition leader. After Harper won the right and won the leadership of the new Conservatives, Brodie was appointed the party's first national director. (It was actually Brodie's wife, Vals—derived a significant player in an event organizer for the party—who approached Brodie's top aide, then Tim Flanagan, about appointing her husband to manage the party.)

After he won the 2006, Harper did not speculate that he might soon become Conservative, maybe like former High Court, chief of staff approachable. "Ian," he says, "knows he doesn't need to be the heavy."

No, his boss has that covered. But Harper must be hoping Lynch's investigation doesn't force him to move down away on Brodie. If Brodie does career, however, change will change fast. The days when he could function quietly at the top level of politics, slipping round out of rooms all but unnoticed, are over for good. ■



MARTHA HALL FINDLAY seeks to win over voters in the Tory stronghold of her riding.

storming Dion's spirit squad, a few new MPs would also represent a major step in what could be a rather dramatic overhaul of the party. Whenever the next election is called, the Liberals are due to face without at least 35 MPs elected under their banner in 2006. Three members have joined the Conservatives, while Blair Williams remains barred from contesting allegations of questionable campaign spending. Another 13 members have either resigned or will not seek re-election whenever Parliament is dissolved.

"It's a real exercise in renewal. Obviously there are excellent people who have decided to retire," says Liberal leader Ralph Goodale, of the Liberals to be replaced by new wave's by-elections. "But what is very interesting here is the team meeting us to replace them. They are extraordinary people who will pick up the mantle and serve well and build their own legacy."

For sure, all parties in the House will lose a prominent name or two in the next general election, but none will face a rebuilding effort like that confronting Dion. Gone already or soon to be departed include party seniors Dean Gledhill, Lucanor Robitaille and John Godfrey, not to mention a former prime minister in Paul Martin and a former celebrity in Billie Steward.

Days before the Liberal convention in November 2006, Glen Pearson won by-election in London to replace Joe Fontana, but, so close, the only acquisition of the Dion era remains Garry Tonon, the former Conservative who was expelled from the Tory side.

Beyond Ontario, the rebuilding of the party has, like much else involving the Liberals over the last year and a half, proceeded with more than a few missteps. Dion's chosen candidate in Quebec was recruited by the NDP's Thérèse Gauthier. Another Marie Gauthier, a former Liberal candidate, publicly launched the lack of attention paid to him by Dion, then weeks later was declared the party's candidate in Westmount-Verdun. In Saskatchewan, Dion appointed John Hearty, a former provincial cabinet minister, to run in the riding won by Gary Menzies, angling David Orchard, who had sought to be there last month. Former Liberal MP Francine Laroche left for the NDP, angry that she was not the candidate in Cape Breton. "It's not the party I joined in 2004," she said.

Maybe that's perhaps that's precisely the goal. Though the John Gledhill era was marked by electoral victory, it also made apparent dysfunction in the room. And when asked about the need for a new generation of "Dion Liberals" within Ontario, Hall

Findlay is quick to dismiss such accusations. "I actually think that the influx of new blood is terrific, in part because in much of that new blood was not aligned or supported different people," she said.

On paper, it is certainly an interesting mix. In addition to Rae and Hall Findlay, fellow leadership runner-up Gerry McGeer will set up his office in Toronto. In addition to senators, the Liberals will also run Brian Topp, an environmentalist who once rode a pipeline oil spillback through downtown Vancouver to protest a slugging company. And, of course, there is Justin Trudeau, the prodigal son who will seek office in Montreal.

Though still hypothetical, this new group of Liberals may ultimately be defined by their leader. Party officials see a group committed to the environment and reflecting Dion's pledge to set women at least 33 per cent of the party's candidates. "The 33 per cent really is an important objective in terms of a message of renewal," says Senécal. Marie Poulin, the party president. "When you look at the quality of our candidates today, it's unbelievable. Doctors, lawyers, former mayors, teachers—these women are very strong candidates and we're very proud of them."

Goodale cautions that the Liberal brand remains a powerful one, but Hall Findlay's campaign proves the discontent is widespread. With four victories in row, Hall Findlay takes the elevator to the top of the apartment building and works her way down—21 floors, 16 apartments per floor. A former NDP MP withheld his vote, but when her lack of Conservative support surprised Yves on Manning. One voter wonders why Hall Findlay is running in this riding, having previously run elsewhere. One woman about urban sprawl. Another about the apartment building's garbage disposal system. Hall Findlay listens with calm, then hurried down the hallway, sometimes even stopping. "I don't know any of the candidates," offers one critic, "but you lack presence."

One person, though, comes to the door and says exactly what you'd expect: "Get rid of Dion and I'll be happy," the woman says.

Hall Findlay launches into her defence: "But he's not a politician in the sense... you have to work hard/blood," the woman counters.

Hall Findlay talks about Dion's work in Quebec, his fight to establish the Clarity Act. "The guy has more blood than any guy I know," she says. The woman remains unpersuaded.

"As a male people get to know him," Hall Findlay insists. "He'll be okay." "Okay," the woman concludes, barely assuaged. "We'll see." ■

FIGHTING TO SERVE

The military is still searching for a strategy for those unfit to fight

BY MICHAEL PHIBBS/LESTER • Sgt. Michael Loewen can bend his right elbow 90 degrees, which is 90 degrees more than the doctors say he should. Amputation seemed inevitable two years ago, when a suicide bomb ripped open his arm, leaving bits of skin and bone in the Afghanistan desert. But today, after several hours of rehab, surgery and more rehab, Loewen has mastered enough strength and mobility to pick up a

the "universality of service" standards (a grueling fitness test that includes digging a trench and running long distances). Those who fail are automatically released. Loewen knows he will never pass that test, yet his claim of overexertion is what got him in the prime of his career. Recently promoted, the 30-year-old is now stationed at CFB Valcartier, the military's main training centre. "As far as I've been able, I'll be able to stay in uniform for as long as I choose."

Other troops trained and mangled on the battlefield at Kandahar have been granted the same thing. "To their credit, officers who served on the front lines with people like



rite. And, more importantly, says his T-1000 uniform. "I can actually get the cup up to my mouth," he laughs. "That was always one of my goals."

'WE DON'T REALLY HAVE PLACES FOR—AND I'M NOT TRYING TO BE DEROGATORY—OFFICE WORKERS'

The army is by no means back to normal. Two things are still without backup, and new recruits are still waiting, waiting, waiting for a boot camp—now moved to left hand. Though former the operator, Loewen has come to accept that his progress, remarkable as it is, has probably plateaued. "My arm is never going to be 100 per cent again," he says. "And that's not something I've adapted to."

The army is trying to adapt, too. According to the rules, Loewen should be leaving for a medical discharge. Every single person in the forces must be healthy enough to deploy, and anyone who is injured—no matter the circumstances—must eventually meet

Loewen are determined to keep them out of the line, but the army is not. The Department of Veterans Affairs—agreed to avoid a public relations nightmare—is trying hard to honor these sacrifices. Last year, Gen. Rick Hillier, the chief of the defence staff, issued a clear order to his subordinates: no soldier wounded in Afghanistan will be released unless the file crosses his desk first.

But that doesn't necessarily mean the soldier's job will be spared. Despite the general's best intentions, his department has yet to enact a formal policy that will allow disabled men to occupy the roles and any in the Forces. In fact, after months of internal debate,

Piecing together 'Dion's Liberals'

'It's been a horrible year,' a candidate says. But help is on the way.

BY AARON MURPHY • "Good luck," says the woman at the door.

"I need more than luck," I respond, the person smiling and looking, "I need votes." "Oh, you'll get them." "I hope I can count on your vote." "Probably. I'll be over let anyone know how I'm going to vote."

In Toronto, it's not a particularly proud time to declare yourself a Liberal voter. But standing in the hallway of the north Toronto apartment building, Martha Hall Findlay is doing a fine job of putting a fine line on the almost-invisible party. Granted, it rarely rains on one's outside to be the Liberal in a riding that last elected a Conservative in 1984. "The Liberal brand is really strong in W9," she says. "Hall Findlay voters in an interview. And, for the time after and the party leader, it better be. For it is not that Hall Findlay should win the March 17 by-election here, but that she has to show the voters for her

prime. Dion these days that a lion in a lion's den, or to the south, where former Ontario premier Bob Rae is running to replace Bill Graham in Toronto-Centre, would seem a particular embarrassment for the leader of the Opposition.

"It's been a horrible year," Hall Findlay confesses. "It has been a tough year for the phone Dion, absolutely."

On the other hand, with in Toronto, plus a victory by former provincial official minister Joyce Murray to replace Stephen Owen in Vancouver-Quayside (the fourth by-election, in northern Saskatchewan, is considered a run-up, would provide a small, but necessary, endorsement of Dion's leadership—leading evidence to the theory that his side is slowly beginning to gain momentum. "I'll have any sleepless in the door. I got to put my pen and paper and say, 'Look, I ran against the guy for 10 months and I got to know him and I can tell you why I can't say a lie,'" says Hall Findlay, who parlayed a long shot run for party leadership into one candidate's seat. "I can talk about his tremendous honesty and integrity... and how smart he is."

Maybe more important, in addition to his

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

senior officials are still not sure if it's even possible—legally or logistically. One thing is clear, however: if a soldier is wounded, it will not benefit everyone. There just aren't enough doctors for all the wailing wounded who want to keep serving. "It's not realistic," says Brig. Gen. Linda Colwell, the director general of military personnel. "We don't really have plans for— and I'm not trying to be derogatory—officer workers."

Known as military brags in a US medical discharge are nothing new. Every year, close to 1,000 retired men and women are released for health reasons ranging from sore backs to torn ligaments. "We have to

be operationally effective," Colwell says. "Universality of service is that fine in the sand." And for years, that line has remained completely objective. It doesn't matter how a soldier is injured, or where. Or why. Only one question matters: is he fit enough to fight? As long as he is, he's not really an army if he's full of people who can't stay out.

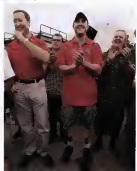
But what if a soldier has already shipped out, only to be shipped back on a stretcher? Does that mean a special exception? Most Canadians would certainly think so, but in Hillier's opinion, it's not a Canadian issue. The Canadian Forces don't put and lose an employee on the basis of public opinion. If Lee was allowed to stay, for example, why not a soldier injured in a car crash? Or on a mining exercise? "If a guy is hurt while preparing for a war, how is that different than the guy who takes a bullet for his country?" asks one defense official, who spoke to Maclean's on the condition of anonymity. "It's a tough question. If you would that privilege to some people, then when a lawyer takes somebody else's case before the human rights commission, we have to be in a defensible position."

The brass is equally concerned about whether veterans—if they loosen the accessibility benchmarks, even slightly, it could compromise the public's legal authority to reject anyone who isn't physically fit enough. Unlike the rest of the public sector, the military has the power to turn away disabled applicants. So how can the DND now turn around and create a special provision for

someone injured in Afghanistan when that someone would not be allowed to enlist in the first place? "They're being very careful," the official says. "They're trying to make sure this is done correctly so the department is not put in a bad position and the members are not put in a bad position."

Numerous policy options remain on the table, including rehiring 300 soldiers on temporary contracts to fill trade shortages.

LOOSENING THE UNIVERSALITY BENCHMARK COULD COMPROMISE THE FORCES' LEGAL AUTHORITY



DEFENCE MINISTER Peter MacKay (third left), Hillier and others share a laugh at a Toronto rally in support of the troops.

outside the infantry. Colwell also suggests that some could be transferred to leadership roles in the reserves. For now, however, the strategy remains the same: compensate the wounded, provide them with good health care, then help them prepare for life in the civilian world. As long as a wound of war is making progress, the military can wait up to five years before labelling him unfit to serve, then another three years before actually handing over the package. "We're not rushing

to any conclusions," Colwell says.

And unlike in years past, the transition from soldier to every now and then a long list of government programs that have taken shape in the shadow of the war in Afghanistan. Veterans Affairs, for instance, will pay out-of-pocket up to \$10,000, while another new initiative looks to help soldiers with Canadian companies to start their own. 300 veterans also receive first-class travel privileges on the federal public service.

"We're not just drawing them out to sell pencils," Colwell says. "We're making sure they have an opportunity—a real career opportunity." If nothing else, the military can say this much to date, none of the 380 troops wounded in action while serving in Afghanistan has been medically discharged against his will. Those few who have left the military have done so of their own accord.

But there will come a time, a few years from now, when a soldier will not want to leave. A soldier like Jody Mink. Last January, the 31-year-old sniper lost both his feet in a land mine in Afghanistan. After months of excruciating rehab, he has taught himself to walk again (corrected: run again) with the help of two prosthetic legs that attach just below his knees. Master Cpl. Mink has also managed to work part time, back in his old company, last at CFB Trenton. "It will probably be another year before I make any real career decision," he says. "I'm starting to think it's not a complete responsibility that I can pass the responsibility of service now, but it's going to be really, really hard, and I don't really want to put myself through that pain."

Mink can't say enough about the support he's received from his battalion. Like Lee, he's been promised him a job, even if he can't pass the physical. "As far as my unit is concerned, I'm in the Royal Canadian Regiment until I decide I'm not." Mink under stands the rules. He knows that his quarters still have his rubber stamped that promise. But he is confident they will. "I know they want to do the right thing," he says. "You shouldn't get rid of guys who know what they're doing—but any military body particularly the military still needs that knowledge base. I can see me being in, leave the sniper suit, but I can see myself being in to leave the army." ■

BRODIE SETS A RECORD GETTING A 'BATE'

"As soon as an issue is called a 'battering-ram' you know it's another level, and the Americans put the 'gate' on this experience. That's so far above drooling pay scale in terms of influence, it's probably one of the worst mistakes a chief of staff has ever made for a prime minister." —DND members of Parliament Nathan Cullen on his brother's alleged involvement in leaking comments by Barack Obama on NATO, as quoted by the HST Times



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Bank robber says 11 days equals \$50K

BY MICHAEL FRECHON/AGENCY • Wayne Thomas was 35 years old when he and four friends swaggaed a stolen rifle—rolled into a bank in small town Eramosa, Ont. The heist was such a success that the armed duo tried again several days later, robbing another CIBC. That was the end of their lucky streak. Two weeks later, after police chased down a stolen car, Thomas and his pal were in handcuffs.

In March 2001, the Ottawa man pleaded guilty to both crimes and received two five-year prison terms. Today, he's back in the streets, preparing for another day in court. He's using the

A FORMER convict is making Corrections for less of liberty

fine for \$50,000, claiming he was released from jail 11 days later than he was supposed to be. "As a result of the misadventure he has been wrongly imprisoned," reads his statement of claim, which seeks damages for "loss of contact with family and friends, loss of earning potential [and] loss of exposure to the community at large."

The Corrections Service of Canada considers two main factors when calculating release dates: pre-arrested custody (inmates are given double credit for time served before conviction) and the statutory release rule (everyone, except murderers and other dangerous offenders, are automatically freed after completing two-thirds of their term). In his case, Thomas says he was originally scheduled to walk out the door on Dec. 5, 2005. However, stuck at Colton Bay Institution, later discovered as a error in their math, and watched his discharge date to Oct. 10, 2005. Unfortunately, that day had already passed on the calendar. By the time Thomas was let out of his cell, it was Oct. 11.

The justice Department doesn't comment on active court cases, but if its statements of defense are any indication, Ottawa has no intention of paying up. The lawsuit is "negligent" and "excessive," it reads, and if Thomas really had a legitimate beef, he should have filed a grievance with the prison, not the courts. "Any disagreement that the plaintiff claims, which is denied, is due to the plaintiff's own actions or inaction." Which, of course, includes robbing two banks. ■

Marrying up: getting ahead in New France

BY PAUL WELLS • Picture the colonial sons and daughters of France four centuries ago, a little less, of England. Huddled against the winter snows, thousands of miles from home. Cut off from the imperial capitals. Also diverse. Cosmopolitan. Social climbing. Everything the folks who stayed in Europe would also concern to become.

That's the toasty terry but compelling picture that author and polemicist John Ralston Saul painted for a roundtable of Canadian and French senators last week in Paris. The occasion was a two-day conference on relations between France and Canada over the past 400 years. The conference's second installment will be held in Ottawa later this year. The 400-year figure was hardly random: this year is the 400th anniversary of Quebec City's founding. Céline Dion and Cirque du Soleil will help with the festivities too, but the assembled

audience from three centuries of light-emission doctrine, whose guideline for racism status was "diversité contradiction."

Most Western democracies are based on a common cultural identity, language, and often a common religion. Canada, divided and isolated from the beginning, didn't have that luxury. Saul said, "Canada has been, for four centuries, an experiment against the European and American nation-state—out of weakness, not strength."

From Samuel de Champlain's arrival onward, the new settlers had to work with the First Nations. Over the years, European and Aboriginal Canadians often built sophisticated relationships, Saul said. "Their approach would have horrified the leaders of Europe in the 16th and 18th centuries. 'Why didn't you clarify? Surely?'"

Instead, the colonists of New France and their British rivals preferred accommodation. When newcomers intermarried with Aboriginals, "they were marrying up," Saul said, struggling to find a way to translate the concept into French. "They were marrying the people who knew where they were, how to organize things, what they could eat, and who knew the only source of income—



SAUL: Life in early Canada demanded complex relationships

stratum thought nobody would object if some history-oriented Brazilian-looking accompanied the show business."

Saul, who is completing a new book on Canadian identity, was the conference's keynote speaker. "A poor Celt who sometimes relies himself for a francophone," he called himself. "But then, what is a francophone in the end? It is somebody who wants to be one."

In France, where titillation with fancy accents are sometimes greeted with condescended bewilderment from the locals, such a broad definition of "francophone" can be provocative. Saul said that's because France is barely

the far side—which is to say, they know the economy."

These habits of accommodation led to the Great Peace of Montreal of 1701, one of the earliest pre-constitutional moments in Canada's history, a treaty between New France and 16 First Nations.

"This is something we need to change in the speeches of our leaders," Saul said. "And therefore in the minds of the people who write the speeches for our leaders. And therefore in the companies where they go to get their information for their speeches. They keep saying, 'Canada is a young country.' It's not young. Four centuries is not young." ■

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FUELLING UP A NEW FUTURE

Premier Brad Wall sells Saskatchewan energy in D.C. 'We're not Iran,' he points out, reassuringly. BY LUIZA CH. SAVAGE

When the newly elected Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall arrived in Washington last week on his first official foreign trip, his first order of business was to clear up a small matter of geography. "We are not North Korea. We are not Iran," the energetic 61-year-old told anyone who would listen, including U.S. cabinet members, members of Congress, energy executives and assorted government officials. Clarifying Saskatchewan's location outside the Axis of Evil was important, because Wall came solely for a waiver to exempt Canada from international rules on nuclear non-proliferation. It's not that "fumble and unassuming Saskatchewan"—as Wall calls his province—wants nuclear weapons. It just happens to produce more than one-quarter of the world's uranium—and also accounts for 90 million pounds of the stuff. "We are the Saudi Arabia of uranium," he says. And he would like to do some

thing more lucrative than simply mining to have private companies enrich it. But that is an activity restricted to a few select countries, and Canada is not on the list. Wall wants Washington to back his quest at the next meeting of the G8 nations. "We want to look at the value chain—thence includes nuclear medicine, research and development, and enrichment," Wall told Maclean's in an interview. "The market is very significant around the world. There are a number of new reactors planned in the U.S. and even more in China. The technology they are using is the kind that requires enriched uranium." Uranium is just one part of Wall's grand plans for turning his traditionally struggling province, whose population has stagnated since 1979, into a high-tech "North American energy center." Wall's centre-right Saskatchewan Party, which took over from the provincial NDP in November after a landslide elec-



tion victory, promises to "accelerate" between the following. Alberta's energy development led. The premier informed his startled American audience that Saskatchewan is the world's largest supplier of oil to the U.S.—already sending them more than Russia. And Saskatchewan is sitting on as 1.2 billion barrels of recoverable conventional oil and an estimated 1.5 billion barrels of potential oil sands reserves. "The discovery didn't stop at just the Athabasca basin," he opines. Calgary-based company Oilfield Quest has opened 600 oilfields exploring the province's oil sands. Wall's energy minister, Bill Boyd, says he hopes to see oil flow from the sands flowing in two years' time.

But Wall's visit and his energy development agenda come at a particularly inauspicious moment for Canadian oil interests in Washington. As Americans begin to become wary of the energy riches next door, they are also waking up to the environmental problems

caused by early mining, water treatment plants and carbon emissions related to their extraction. In December, President George W. Bush signed new energy legislation passed by Congress called the Energy Independence and Security Act, which includes when on the U.S. government purchasing alternative fuels that produce more carbon emissions than conventional petroleum. Depending on how the portion of the law known as Section 326 is interpreted, it could cover oil sands, which cause more carbon emissions than conventional oil. Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ottawa are concerned that a broad interpretation of the law could affect not only purchases by the U.S. government and the U.S. military, but also the private trade. Canadian Ambassador Michael Wilton recently wrote a letter to U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and U.S. Energy Secretary Stanley E. Robinson warning

about "unintended consequences for both countries." If the energy bill is interpreted to apply to oil sands oil.

Wall's visit was part of an ongoing effort by Canada to rebrand the sands. Speaking to a luncheon organized by the Canadian American Business Council, the premier read out a letter to the editor of the Washington Post written by one Brian Gonzalez, a lawyer with the Environment (Brent Research & Education) Center, talking about dirty Canadian oil. The letter referred to "oil sands oil produced through a desecrative process that has deleterious consequences." Wall almost spit out the words "Dirty Canadian oil." How about oil oil. Conflict free oil. Energy linked between countries is increasingly linked—not only by commerce, but by history. By friendship. By family. By values. By freedom. Freedom oil. It has a marketable ring to it. Kind of like "Conflict-free dis-

ON THE TRAIL To take his province's profile, Wall and a TV spot, over the rights, and speak to anyone who would listen at the Energy Council and the Canadian Embassy in Washington D.C.

Wall says that he is committed to reducing the carbon footprint of the oil sands, a goal his government plans to invest in as part of its first budget, to be tabled next week. He also boasts that, compared to Alberta, the development of the Saskatchewan oil sands will be less environmentally destructive because they are buried much deeper under the earth. Two days, in fact, to be compressed. In fact, the oil is extracted by a process of injecting steam underground and "steaming" out the oil. The waste that is used does not come from extractable surface water sources, but from groundwater.

Likewise, Wall and Boyd are promoting Saskatchewan as a world leader in so-called "carbon capture" technology, which takes CO₂

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JORDAN KOSKOVSKI/GETTY IMAGES

Quarsh's brother, the prosecuting lawyer in Siddiqui's case. "The entire system of appointing judges has been politicized for years. Now the PM is stepping in to make sure that the deposed judges, because money was only to them—they were appointed while Shaif was in power" On Sunday, the PM's N-9 is the new coalition government will restore deposed judges within a month. But the PPP, which won the election partly on the strength of a sympathy vote after Shaif was announced on Dec. 17, 2007, wants more influence in the courts, so it will push for its own appointments, Chowhan adds. The real result is anyone's guess, but for Quarsh, the concern is that as more time passes, the more opportunity Quarsh will have to get himself freed. "My fear is that any day Quarsh can walk free," he says. "Everything is in so much chaos because of the political situation. Nobody cares about one dead woman."

The only woman whose death has occurred during the past month in Karachi, whose case situation nearly put an end to the justice process, is a British national, the wife of a former British diplomat, who has been married to a Pakistani man for more than 20 years. She was killed in a car accident on Sunday night, barely registered on anyone's radar. Another death, and especially the subsequent investigation, tells a disturbingly familiar Pakistani story: a powerful politician implicated in a killing, the investigation marred by allegations of a cover-up, the crime scene wiped clean but a thorough search for evidence is done, and a week later forensic trial begins. Some of those elements read like a template for the investigation that followed Britain's assassination. And Quarsh still remains over how he did get away. Two years after her arrival in Pakistan as a business woman, she was followed down in a park somewhere home owned by Quarsh in the capital, Islamabad. According to a second autopsy, requested and paid for by her family, her death was the result of blunt force trauma to the head—after she had been allegedly confined to a second-floor room and out of contact with her family for weeks.

But she died in the wake of Pakistan's most notorious periods. In the months following her death, the country suffered from a surge in violence, Islamic violence, political assassination and sectarian strife—culminating in what could be defined as the toughest election in Pakistan's history. The electoral cycle of relief that followed the year, when thousands of Pakistanis from all political positions fled the streets in celebration, was short-lived: a series of attacks over the past two weeks has served as a reminder that aggressively powerful elections will only the first step on a long road to stability. And under so much violence and turmoil, a mere crime, even if

involving a foreign national and an influential politician, doesn't amount to much.

"Unfortunately, the country's condition is such that the police and legal system, along with other things," says Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Quarsh's lawyer. Police on the crime have not been recruited to guard against suicide attacks, and to protect politicians who have increasingly become targets. In the meantime, Siddiqui's murder investigation remains



THIS IS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE, THE FIRST TIME A SITTING MINISTER HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH MURDER



GUARDIAN (Top): Quash's brother, left, powerful Pakistani politician.

ongoing. "The case has been delayed because the original police report was not properly done," says Malik Faisal Rafiq, lawyer at the Islamabad Bar Association. That report was returned to investigating officers at the British police station, says the home where Siddiqui's body was found. Investigation there says the issues have all been dealt with and the report has been filed. But Chowhan disputes that. "This is not true," he says. "The indictment is still incomplete, especially in terms of the cover-up that I believe he did to help prevent further compensation in his case." Quarsh's brother has been charged. "My wife's death was not a coincidence," says Chowhan. "But he will have some big call to pull" that keeping with over ten criminal cases he has difficulty. Canadian officials did not respond to repeated queries about the progress of the investigation, though it's likely they are following events closely, with Pakistan's court in a hurry, and the memory of one dead woman's family, they may not be able to do much more than watch and wait.



lowered the crime. Michael Schiff who wrote the first indictment accepted have not been questioned. The drop of the crime story has not been unexpected. This is an extremely sensitive case, the first time in Pakistan that a sitting minister has been charged with murder. And while he is as long as a sitting minister, Quarsh's involvement with considerable influence. "He still has a lot of friends in powerful places," says Quarsh. "He was even allowed to come out of jail to vote in the presidential election." (That vote, on Oct. 6, 2009, resulted in a lead vote victory for Muhammad after opposition parties boycotted a Pakistan Supreme Court case period to declare it illegal—which prevented the president's pre-emptive use of emergency.) Quarsh's vote, cast in favor of Mithal, would not have counted for much, but the symbolism of his involvement was not lost on Quarsh, who says he was "shocked" that his wife's alleged killer was able to cast a ballot. "This is a real finding a wonder change," Quarsh says, "and here he is sitting with his old cronies in the national assembly, the highest seat of power in Pakistan."

It's the sort of alliance that is keeping Quarsh and Chowhan on their toes. Collectively, they have used a complaint to the Canadian High Commission in Islamabad, requesting that

they be done to help prevent further compensation in his case. Quarsh's brother has been charged. "My wife's death was not a coincidence," says Chowhan. "But he will have some big call to pull" that keeping with over ten criminal cases he has difficulty. Canadian officials did not respond to repeated queries about the progress of the investigation, though it's likely they are following events closely, with Pakistan's court in a hurry, and the memory of one dead woman's family, they may not be able to do much more than watch and wait.

BRITAIN: HOW R U UPDATING OUR PAGE?

Reports that many universities have been in the last year walking into lamp posts and garbage cans while sending back packages prompted officials to seek a solution. One in 10 parcels require return work, including broken items, chandeliers, and a broken lamp. A survey by a British police department's website and a suggestion from last week's brightly pink suit-upphone party on sidewalks, and post padding around lamp posts.

Serbian split: choosing the EU or Kosovo

BY CAMERON AKINSHAW-WINDBER

After several years of trying to negotiate a plausible path for entry into the European Union, Serbia was on the verge of finalizing its potential inclusion on the 27-member bloc. With the collapse of the coalition government last weekend, President Boris Tadic was expected to dissolve parliament and call an election within days. The danger now is that when Serbia goes to the polls, they may bring to power a new coalition that might pull the plug on pursuing EU membership.

At issue is Kosovo and its unilateral declaration of independence. Nationalists in the government, led by Prime Minister Vukobrat



TADIC'S plea for Serbia to join the EU may be slipping

Kostanovic, wanted that certain EU members—including France, Britain and Germany—recognize the breakaway majority Albanian region of Serbia as a nation. They wanted to push a resolution that Serbia turn its back on the EU of the union and not reject Kosovo's independence. That move was opposed by coalition

members led by Tadic's Democratic party, which did not vote the issue of Kosovo to EU membership. But the difference proved insurmountable in the words of an official statement. "The government did not have a mandate and common policy anyone." Now Serbia voters will decide what a new common policy should be. Tadic and other EU proponents hope coalition heads will prevail and that Serbia will rather find a future within Europe should consider a unilateral move over Kosovo. The EU is attempting to return 1999-era military presence in Serbia by proposing more access to visas, education and transport. But it's also drawn out had on an already tense situation. Last week, the German government agreed to send 100 police officers to Kosovo—in addition to the 1,800 staff the EU has already committed as part of its Kosovo mission, considered illegal by many in Serbia. Many now fear that, after the new election, nationalists will gain the upper hand in parliament, turning away from the EU and increasingly toward Russia, which has traditionally backed Serbia. ■

Who doesn't love potatoes after sex?

BY PATRICIA TIERRE

Sex was discussed when her lover of nine months, Finnish Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen, dumped her via text message saying, "It's over." So she hit back—by writing a tell-all.



TIERRA (left) cleared in case over tell-all about Finnish PM

account of their affair titled *The Prime Minister's Sin*. She published the 160-page book, which full of details, some of them, some, just before, last March's parliamentary election and last week was cleared of charges of breaching his privacy.

Karonska, who has since changed her last name to Karonska, Finnish for Sleeping Beauty, revealed they had sex in his apartment at RKEA, as he claimed, but that he'd responded to her as an insider during service. Vanhanen, early divorced from his wife of more than two decades, seemed shocked from the start, insisting that "my stomach is all messed up" even before their first in-person meeting. His lover breathlessly described how their steamy sexual escapades occurred almost everywhere except the kitchen table. The media couldn't get enough of her indiscretions of Vanhanen's indiscretions, who she admitted he placed, he wanted to enjoy a moment before making love, and to eat his food and potatoes afterwards. "Once, when he kissed me, he said that I tasted better than baked potatoes," she wrote. "I was gone."

An angry Vanhanen, 52, whose party was re-elected despite the hand dealt in the personal life, kept the book's publisher, demanding it had lost him and his children. Prosecutors also had criminal charges against both the publisher and Karonska, 36, for illegally revealing and spreading private information. But the trial, dealing with both cases, ended last week with a jury decision, so under Finnish law the charges were dismissed. The court ruled that there is a different threshold of privacy for public figures. Her politicians' story turned an appeal is pending. ■

China gives in to Hollywood heavyweights

BY NANCY MACDONALD

After years of being snubbed on China, to begin trading partners, to block U.S. movie exports. But as a global outrage over the bloody five-year crisis served in on the Olympic host country, Beijing quietly shifted gears, taking the diplomatic offensive. Crude, meanwhile, belongs largely to Hollywood, not Washington.

In February, Steven Spielberg resigned as artistic adviser to the Beijing Olympics, citing China—which had "the opportunity and obligation to press for change"—for denying a blind eye to escalating violence in Tibet. The director, hired to photograph the opening ceremonies, and his "consciousness" would no longer allow him to work on what U.S. actress Mia Farrow has called the "Greatest Olympics." Oscar winner George Clooney is also backing Spielberg for the Games, leaving on Olympic partner Olympic Watchtower out on Beijing's foreign policy.

In the wake of the Spielberg snub, a senior Chinese official expressed "great concern" to President Omar Hassan al-Bashir, pushing him to accept a joint U.S.-Africa Union peacekeeping force. But China, also responsible for 80 per cent of the recent global spike in oil demand, could never choose human rights over Sudan's vast oil reserves—or its multi-billion-dollar investment in the country that, like most of



FARROW calls China's opening Games the 'Greatest Olympics'

its dealings in Africa, has been re-attracted. And Beijing has limited traction with the regime, says Harvard University Sudan expert Allen D. Wald. The conflict has spilled over into Chad and the Central African Republic, where the Franco-paysed military are no longer the mainstay but a gutting force. No one country can dictate a political solution to Darfur, and certainly not by August. ■



Tim's takes on America

Tim Hortons bestrides the Canadian market like a colossus. But investors are still waiting for the U.S. invasion to begin BY JASON KIRBY

To its most devoted fans, grabbing a Tim Hortons double-double on the way to work is almost a religious experience. The Church of Tim's, as it's only sometimes jokingly called, has such a firm grip on the Canadian psyche under the doggy ears grins to boun of any Tim Hortons fan the United Church of Canada will have a worshiping in Tim Hortons you to have entitled "More Tim Hortons than Tim Hortons?" And for you, Rev. Jose Lachar, a minister in Belleville Ont., answered in his flock that "many believe in our common joy today turn to Tim's for a sense of belonging beyond home and work instead of the church." But if a fellow Canadian success his faith ability to attract new converts, investors' faith in the company may be put to the test as it tries to expand into the United States.

Tim Hortons' compact of Canada is virtually complete. Sure, there are a few city blocks in Vancouver where the familiar red lettering

of the company's logo remains elusive. But there is now a Tim Hortons restaurant for every 12,166 Canadians, nearly double its density in the United States. McDonald's, the 10th largest U.S. chain, has 12,166 Canadian stores, the chain controls 66 percent of the coffee, doughnuts and ice cream—90 per cent if you only count the coffee. When Don Schneider took over as Tim Hortons' new chief executive officer last week, replacing Paul House who became executive chairman, he said that what has become the fourth-largest fast-food chain in North America when measured by market capitalization, largely on the back of Canadian "insatiable demand for its beloved coffee."

Verstads of the border-thriving nation's game so well. Tim Hortons' huge U.S. rollout has been formed by analysts and journalists for nearly 15 years. And each time the dream fell short of the mark. During the last round of stories about its U.S. expansion in 2005, executives boldly predicted there would be 308 Tim Hortons in the U.S. by 2009. Today, there are

168. Now in restaurant holds on its origin around the phanto to convert America's Tim Hortons, the company faces not only a dramatically slowing economy, but a mighty competitor in Dunkin' Donuts with ambitious plans of its own to conquer the nation.

You could hardly call Tim Hortons' move into the U.S. a failure. Not when you consider the fate of so many other chains. The American retail and restaurant landscape is littered with the remains of disaster-stricken Canadian companies. Canadian Tire Inc. and Saks Fifth Avenue, while Kelsey's Restaurants barely got up light before merely withdrawing. "In Canada companies have tended to coast safe by side with their competitors, whereas in the United States companies are out to annihilate each other," says Wendy Evans, a Toronto retail consultant who specializes in cross-border expansion. "There's just no room for nice guys down there."

Tim Hortons took its first step into the U.S. market in 2004 with a restaurant near Buffalo,

N.Y. These were early days for the company, which got its start in 1964 when son Nils, a defector from Tim Hortons and former cop, had boys opened a handful of doughnut spots in Hamilton, Ontario, and in a crash in 1978, leaving Joyce to build the empire. By the mid '90s he had more than 200 restaurants, and was already building a new one, opening up quickly among rural Canadians and those in smaller cities. So when, burst of horror, budget giant Wendy's International snipped up the chain in 1995, weeks of national soul-searching ensued. For posterity, the only silver lining in the deal was that with Wendy's close, the chain was expected to expand far and wide. Canadians who traveled to the States would finally be able to find a decent cup of coffee, but the U.S. invasion never really materialized.

During the time Wendy's ruled, Tim Hortons' U.S. store count grew from about a dozen to 279. But 45 of those restaurants, which were added when Tim Hortons bought a small doughnut chain in New England in 2004, were dead. As House told investors in 2006: "We got our act locked in New England—there's a place called 'The Company' declined to make anyone available to comment for this story." While the company's market expansion since 1995 U.S. stores is not a shabby start, thank you very much, others have proven far more effective at conquering new markets. Quiksilver, for instance, an surf shop in Canada in 1996 and today operates nearly 400 restaurants, in a market one-tenth the size of the U.S.

When Wendy's spun off the Tim's chain in 2006, it was welcomed to the reputation of a Canadian business icon. It wasn't hard to find Canadians rolling their faces with Boston owners, while taking after the company's United public offering. And the stock has not disappointed, thanks mostly to growth in Western Canada and continued momentum in the kitchen—this month it will roll out bar-lunch sandwiches in some stores.

Still, it's Tim Hortons' U.S. expansion that is driving investors nervous these days. At two investor road shows in New York last week, Schmidt and other executives repeated the company's pledge of opening up to 100 new restaurants this year in the U.S. northeast. (The company is also talking out self-seeked in Ireland and the U.K.) The U.S. stores currently account for roughly 10 per cent of Tim Hortons sales, but don't generate any profit. David Hartley, an analyst with M&M Capital Markets, says once the membership of 984 U.S. stores is reached, the company should have the brand awareness and distribution base to "start making money in a meaningful way."

There are signs that optimism is well founded. Slowly but surely, the chain is

developing a following south of the border. They congregate on the Internet, if not over the counter, and through word of mouth they're helping to pave the way for Tim Hortons' eventual growth.

But if the U.S. market was a tough nut for Tim Hortons to crack in the past, it could be more so now. For one thing, the American economy is an increasingly shaky ground, forcing people to cut back on their spending. Tim's core figure that's more of a concern for Starbucks, which charges premium prices for its gourmet coffees and snacks. "We're not recession proof, but we're as close to it as you can get," Schneider told investors last week. He said when the economy has crumbled in the past, Tim Hortons was able to stretch up real estate on the cheap, while having qualified franchisees who'd been laid off from their jobs. But today says Tim Hortons is at a disadvantage due to its size and marketwide demand recognition. With gasoline prices soaring, some analysts believe consumers are shifting closer to home. And since Tim Hortons has far fewer stores (one to every 210,000 people, versus 18,000 for Dunkin' Donuts and 21,000 for McDonald's), it's a bit of a disadvantage.

Meanwhile, the coffee wars have heated up in the U.S., with three giants gunning for top spot. Starbucks controls 21 per cent of the quick-service restaurant coffee segment, followed by Dunkin' Donuts and McDonald's at 18 and 11 per cent respectively. Dunkin' Donuts, in particular, poses the biggest threat to Tim Hortons' plans. When the Canadian chain stepped up its expansion in the U.S.

of Sonelens & Associates, a U.S. restaurant research firm. "There are a lot of similarities between the two brands. So you go to one, it's going to be the same," it says. "It's not easy to say, Dunkin' Donuts has the edge. At \$185.5 billion in sales, the U.S. chain obviously three times larger than in Canadian stores."

There is something to be said for slow and steady, of course. Just look at the boom-and-bust cycle. Krispy Kreme went through a fiery year when it made its last North American overnight with its gooey, warm doughnuts. Investors are obviously wary of a repeat performance at Tim Hortons. "You're building a brand, highway ramp by highway ramp, small town by small town," says RMO's Hartley. "It just takes time to get acceptance. This is a Krispy Kreme here. It's not a fail, it's not a slow build."

In some ways the very things that have made Tim Hortons such a phenomenal force in Canada are what have made its peak into the U.S. so difficult. The company rose to dominance here by forging close ties to buyers and suppliers that fit the maple leaf. Dunkin' Donuts, in contrast, uses ingredients like "America Runs on Dunkin'" and fills its with banana, football and basketball imagery. In other words, the kind of spirit that appeal to the vast majority of red-blooded Americans—people who think a pack is something you put in your swimming pool to tell algae. That's let Tim Hortons to market itself as the restaurant where you can always get fresh coffee and food at a good price, which is hardly the most original or memorable marketing campaign around.



For now Tim Hortons has gone farther in its U.S. expansion than any Canadian retailer or restaurant chain before it. And if it keeps growing at its current pace, eventually, some day, Americans may come to appreciate the undeniable value of a steaming bowl of Tim Hortons' food. But the chain will never offer the same level of devotion and reverence as it does in Canada—no matter, under Tim. ■

From cockpit to living room in minutes

BY JOHN INYAKI • Carp, Ont., home of the *Avion Express* (Ottawa's *Gold Wing* lifestyle oriented source), seems awfully young off-point for grown-ups. But that hasn't dissuaded one real estate developer from plans to create a rather unique "fly in community" in the tiny village located about 30 minutes west of the nation's capital.

This spring, Ottawa-based West Capital

Developments will start working on the infrastructure required for *Delved Estates*, the company's 1,000-acre, 136-home community, situated east of Chapinport. Construction of phase one—10 homes—is scheduled to begin this fall, and already, with 100% availability, 30 per cent of the available homes are reserved, says John Phillips, West Capital's president. (Only now, with the approval process complete, is the company accepting deposits.) The most sought-after are the luxury lots, which provide door-to-plate door access. "They're like little bungalows, allowing owners to 'land, drive right to their house and pull into their garage,'" says Phillips. Residents with homes a bit further from the strip can park their planes in a communal hangar and take golf carts home.

There are currently more than 600 fly-in communities in North America. And while some are located in warm-weather states like Florida, Texas and Arizona, Phillips says the model has proven successful in areas with climates similar to Ottawa's, including Chicago and New York. *Taloned* fly-ins, will be the largest and boldest community of its kind in Canada. Most Canadian fly-ins, he says, consist of "a grassy field or two cottages."

Phillips thinks there's plenty of "pull-out demand" in Ottawa and looks to tap a couple of niche markets here. Frequent business flyers and aviation enthusiasts. "Community to popular belief, all pilots aren't rich," he says. Of the 10,000 Canadian owners and pilots' associations are members, that majority owns a family aircraft of less than \$50,000 a year. Phillips also hopes to gain traction with non-pilot members in being part of an exclusive community. Aircraft, now-gotten often buy houses on private routes.

Taloned house prices range from \$300,000 for a bungalow on an acre lot to \$500,000 and up for large estates on a runway-accessible piece of land. Residents will be charged fees to cover common elements (hole paths, parking) and an annual operations fee, projected at \$150. Below West Capital's link over the Chapinport in 2007, a waiting list of 100,000 a year, says Phillips. Under WCD's control, the airport is already breaking even and a new terminal was opened last September.

Some have expressed concern that a new airport will increase noise and traffic, but overhead and on the ground. But Gary says don't need to worry about a flying 707 in any future resident's driveway—nor the case



THE NEW FLY-IN community will be limited to small planes and so-called very light jets

at John Phillips's *Delved*, Fla., aviation, which doubles as his very own fly-in community. Many pilots in and out of the Corp airport, says Phillips, are concerned by the length of the runway, removing the options to include small twin engine planes and very light jets (VLJs).

Ben Watson, a two-time pilot to the community, long-time resident, busy who grew up on the local farms, and a "branch of software guy" who moved to Carp to get away from the big city but welcome the opportunity to get quickly back and forth. Watson falls into the latter category. Since moving his family from Ottawa to Carp three years ago, the 40-year-old senior director of product management with Yahoo has worked out of his 1994 Cadillac home. But with team members in Toronto, San Jose, L.A. and New York, he spends about two weeks a month on the road. "This makes Toronto so much more accessible," says Watson, whose home is about two hours from the airport.

Watson is no chieftain, in fact, that he and his son Sawyer, who turn 40 in a couple of years, plan to take flying lessons. "A lot of people," he says, "are talking about sharing planes." Increasing air traffic through Carp, he says, also cut out the cost of the 1100-limo ride to the Ottawa airport. "On a nice day," says Watson, "you can walk to the airport." ■

Blockbuster proves it's not dead yet

BY RANEE MACDONALD • For years, market analysts have been predicting the demise of Blockbuster Inc. But like the death-chattering terms from the slasher franchise *Final Destination*, the world's biggest video-rental chain keeps going to the top.

A fine prequel attack from rival online giant Netflix Inc., Internet downloads, video-on-demand cable services, and DVD loans offering rental as cheap as \$1 a night has eroded Blockbuster's revenues and collapsed its share value—half, less than declared by more than half to interest USA). In an early three-year run ending in 2005, the Dallas-based company—which has lost money in 10 of the past 11 years—cracked up total losses of more than \$1.4 billion.

But last week Blockbuster announced that, thanks to cost cuts, improvements to store merchandising and new pricing on early-cash service, it had quadrupled its fourth quarter net income and predicted a return to profitability in 2008 with earnings of as much as \$152 million expected for the year.

In 2004, the wounded giant dropped its



PRICE CUTS and video downloads made Blockbuster's salvation

late first and, three years ago, launched the Total Access by-mail service, whose fourth-quarter revenues rose 34 per cent over 2005. In August, new CEO Jim Keyes engineered the purchase of struggling MovieFit, a download service that will allow Blockbuster to deliver rentals directly to PCs, which looks like an essential step in Blockbuster's rebuilding plan.

"There's still life in movie-rental stores," says Keyes. But the competition keeps increasing. Two months ago, Apple closed down the U.S. market, offering rentals on its heavily trafficked iTunes store. Power and force consumers are willing to rent out to rent a flick. But Blockbuster may find a way to reach its customers at their own homes. ■

If you made a purchase or return at a TJX store listed below, you could get benefits from a class action settlement.

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A settlement has been reached with The TJX Companies, Inc. and Fifth Third Bancorp. ("Defendants") on a class action lawsuit about the company's system in stores was personal and financial information at TJX retail stores. The settlement provides benefits to those shoppers who may have been damaged in some way.

The United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts will have a hearing to decide whether to give final approval to the settlement, so that the benefits can be issued. Those who do not have legal rights and opinions such as including themselves in or objecting to the settlement. Eligible Class members can submit a claim for benefits from the settlement. Contact a lawyer at www.TJXsettlement.com

Who's INCLUDED?

The Class includes everyone in the United States, Puerto Rico and Canada who made a purchase or return at a TJX, Marshall's, T.J. Maxx, HomeSense, HomeGoods, A.J. Wright, Winners, HomeSense, believe their personal financial data was stolen or placed at risk of being stolen from TJX computer systems, and that they were damaged from it. This includes those who made returns without a receipt and were previously notified by TJX that their name, address and driver's license or military status or identification number were compromised.

WHAT DOES THE SETTLEMENT PROVIDE?

If you've been notified by TJX that your driver's license or military status or identification number was compromised: (a) you could get 3 years of credit monitoring with \$20,000 in identity theft insurance; (b) you could be compensated for the cost of replacing your driver's license between January 17, 2000 and June 30, 2003; and/or (c) if your driver's license or military status or identification number was your social security number, you can get paid for a membership dues or security dues \$600 from related identity theft between January 17, 2000 and April 1, 2008. If you used your credit card, debit card or check at a TJX store between December 1, 2002 and September 2, 2003 or May 15, 2006 and December 15,

2006, and you have had out of pocket costs above \$5 and/or lost out between January 17, 2000 and June 30, 2003 to replace from the information, you can get one or two vouchers, depending on your documentation, for credit on purchases at the TJX stores in the amount of \$30 each (i.e., up to \$10 in total in vouchers) or checks in the amount of \$15 each (i.e., up to \$10 in total by check). TJX will also hold a fund, one-day, special sale reducing previous all merchandise by 15% at all TJX stores (cashiers, available to all shoppers making purchases on the day of the special event). The settlement also confirms steps TJX has taken to strengthen the security of its computer systems. The settlement does not mean the Defendants violated any law or did anything wrong. The Defendants deny any claims of wrongdoing in this case.

Which TJX Stores?

- ▶ T.J. MAXX
- ▶ MARSHALL'S
- ▶ T.J. MAXX 'N MORE
- ▶ MARSHALL'S MEGASTORE
- ▶ THE MAXX
- ▶ HOME GOODS
- ▶ A.J. WRIGHT
- ▶ WINNERS
- ▶ HOMESENSE

HOW DO YOU ASK FOR BENEFITS?

Eligible Class Members can call 1-866-323-6770 or go to the website for a claim form. The claim form must include the document(s) you require, and mail it to the address on the form. Please note that there are different addresses for different benefits. The earliest deadline for benefits is May 28, 2006.

YOUR OTHER OPTIONS.

If you don't want to be legally bound by the settlement you must exclude yourself by June 24, 2006 (or you won't be able to sue, or contract to sue, the Defendants about the legal claims that survive any lawsuit, ever again. If you exclude yourself you get any benefits from the settlement. If you stay in the settlement Class, you may object to it by June 24, 2006. The detailed motion plan how to exclude yourself is on the website.

The Court will hold a hearing in this case, known as *In re TJX Companies Retail Stores Breach Litigation*, No. 07-01162, MDL No. 1638, on July 15, 2006, to consider whether to approve the settlement, and a request by Class Counsel for fees of up to \$6,500,000, and costs and expenses of up to \$150,000. You or your own lawyer may ask to appear and speak at the hearing if you wish to, but you don't have to. For more information, go to the website shown below.

www.TJXsettlement.com

1-866-323-6770



The most dangerous cities in Canada

Maclean's exclusive rankings of the country's most crime-ridden, and safest, cities



BY KEVIN MACQUEEN • The call from Victoria police dispatch comes about 11 p.m.: a woman with a suspicious car emergency staff at Gorge Road Hospital. Acting Sgt. Peter

Lane responds along with a second police vehicle, and lights shine. Dispatch provides further details; Lane heaves a sigh and dismounts off the accelerator. "I almost have to have you see this one," he tells a *Maclean's* reporter and photographer riding in his patrol supervisor's SUV. The woman is 36, in a denim jacket. She has been dismissed of her weapon, a pair of scissors. Sleazy old Victoria, he says, "it's such a stereotype." And so it is, as the night would reveal.

Scenarios emerged when *Maclean's* went searching for Canada's safest, and most dangerous communities. Toronto and Montreal, obvious crime-ridden candidates with their well-publicized racial tensions and gun and gang violence, rank well down a danger list of the 100 largest cities in regions of the country—those of 50,000 people or more. Montreal ranks 19th on *Maclean's* crime list and Toronto the 60th (same stereotypes are true) is a sleazy 34th, guarantee headlines notwithstanding. The most notable result is the geographic distribution of Canadian crime: Halifax is the only eastern city in the top 10. The top nine—the WMW West—stretch from Winnipeg to Victoria.

The rankings are based on 2006 per-cap

ita crime rates, the most recent available from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Maclean's* created a ranking based on aggregate results of its personal and property crimes: murder, sexual assault, aggravated assault (the most serious kind), robbery, break and enter, and auto theft. These are similar to the crimes measured and the criteria used by Congressional Quarterly Press for its annual "Crime in Metropolitan America" report. Detroit, followed by St. Louis, Mo., has the highest overall crime of major U.S. cities. Detroit's 2006 murder rate—47.5 per 100,000—is 60 times higher than Edmonton, which had the highest rate that year among major Canadian cities.

Canada, though, can't be wrong. We fare no better than the U.S. in other areas. The break and enter rates in Chilliwack, B.C., Victoria and Regina, for instance, rank within the top 10 per cent of all American cities. The per-capita robbery rates in Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Regina would put them among the top 10 robbery-plagued metropolitan areas of the U.S. And you are far more

ARRESTS ARE AN ALL-INDUSTRY OCCURRENCE IN REGINA (LEFT) AND VICTORIA (RIGHT)

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SIMON WILFERT
PHOTOGRAPH BY ADRIAN LAM



likely to have your automobile stolen in Winnipeg or Joliet, Que., than anywhere in the U.S., including metropolitan Detroit and Las Vegas, the says their capitals of Arizona. Even at that, a crime analysis this January by the Vancouver Board of Trade cautions official rates are misleadingly low "only about one-third of actual crimes in Canada are reported to police." The board helped prevent Statistics Canada to consider an annual crime victimization survey. The last such measure estimated in 2004 there were more than eight million criminal offences—2.7 million of them violent—three times the number reported to police.

The top 10 high crime cities in the Macdonald list are led by Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg, each near or at the national average. These are followed by Prince George, Edmonton, New Westminster, Chilliwack, Victoria, Vancouver and Halifax. The reasons a city makes the top 10 can vary. Winnipeg leads because there are more than 144 per cent above the national average. Belleville (plagued by



Canada's crime map: the East-West divide

With one of the 10 worst crime scores belonging to cities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and B.C., Halifax topped the list of a crime sweep by taking the No. 10 spot. For comparison, Macdonald has included big cities and provincial capitals with populations over 50,000.

For all that, these are hardly cities under siege. The worst of the crime is often visited upon the most vulnerable, those in the poorest postal codes. There are patching places for the addicted, the psychologically disabled, and those who prey upon them. Canadians live with the consequences of releasing mentally ill people from institutions, says Allen Cardie, in charge of crime analysis for the RCMP's Pacific region. "Like a lot of right-to-life reasoning, it sometimes doesn't work in the interests of those whose rights are being protected," he says. "You have pockets of social discharging in some of these communities. Obviously (Vancouver's) Downtown Eastside is one, but there are demographic and geographic pockets in Regina, Winnipeg and Saskatoon, and other cities where there is

a lot of social dysfunction, a lot of poverty, a lot of social inequity. Crime comes to these areas, always."

Certainly it does not help shape Canada's statistically safest place, Calgary, Ont., a scenic, semi-rural suburb northwest of Toronto. It is, at least by the most recent numbers, a larger, safer life equivalent to most fictional television iterations in America's Mayberry, or Dogville, or Seaside, or Carver Gap. Here—in idyllic world of coffee beds and unlocked doors, at more likely, of very good security systems. Calgary's policing district of about 71,000 residents comes by its reputation honestly (nearly), with no murders or aggravated assaults in 2006. Calgary has the third lowest level of robbery among the 500 areas and the lowest rates of homicide and sexual assault and auto theft, combining for an overall crime rate of 167 per cent below the national average.

Next on the safe list is the region of Montserrat, including the agribusiness and food processing, in northern Quebec, with a violent rate about 30 per cent below average, followed by Nanaimo, Ont. Larger communities, like the sprawling suburban outskirts of Toronto, can also be safe havens. Halton Region, pop. 416,960, is fourth on the list, at 76.6 per cent below the national crime average, and Wolf

Region, pop. 99,999, ranks eighth. The district of North Vancouver, across Burnaby, has the higher crime rates of Vancouver's downtown and east side, but Canada's safest suburb is in the city of St. John's, and the Edmonton suburb of St. Albert, in British

plains, are the only cities over 50,000 among Canada's top 10 low-crime communities. This begs a vexing question: what's wrong with the West?

Again, the strain and demographics vary from city to city, but poverty and immigration, both by the size and neighbourhood, are often part of the mix. The top three high crime communities also have proportionately the largest urban Aboriginal populations of any Canadian cities. Nine per cent of the population of both Regina and Saskatoon are Aboriginal, or 18 per cent, more than 68,000, of Winnipeg's population—most of them concentrated in the urban city. "The vast of the Aboriginal population is a target of the program," says University of British Columbia criminologist Ronald Macdonald, whose recent research includes a study of policing on northern Saskatchewan. The Aboriginal population, which reached 1.5 million in 2006, is dramatically

younger. Its median age is 27, compared to 40 for the Canadian population as a whole. Younger people commit substantially more crimes, regardless of race, says Macdonald. The lack of strong Aboriginal cultural and family roots in urban centres make the young especially vulnerable to the culture of gangs, he says. "They lived up a whole series of factors of: micro-single family housing, poor parental guidance, substance abuse issues, alcohol issues, histories of family violence," Macdonald says. "When you sum it all up, the tragedy has a huge impact."

The gross overrepresentation of Aboriginals in cities is both an indicator of the problem and part of the reason it is perpetuated. In Saskatchewan, Aboriginal population

exceeds 75 to 90 per cent of all youth in an area of almost closed control, according to a 2001 report by the Indian Minister of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FIN). Often, they are both victim and victim. Nationally, Aboriginal people are three times more likely than non-Aboriginal to be assaulted, sexually assaulted or robbed. They are seven times more likely to be victims of homicide—10 times more likely to be charged with homicide.

The RCMP report says Aboriginal people accounted for 15 per cent of Saskatchewan's homicide victims and 60 per cent of those accused of homicide between 1994 and 2005. These are reasons behind that has improved.

In Winnipeg, Saskatchewan, young life is hardly limited to Aboriginal groups. The Irish, English, a model of corporate

The worst and best of Canada

The HIGHEST 10 communities for each of six crimes and their percentage differences ABOVE the national rate

City	Rate
Arthursville, B.C.	267%
Bedford, N.S.	221%
New Westminster, B.C.	187%
Medicine Hat, Alta.	174%
Edmonton	154%
Regina	136%
Capehorn, B.C.	130%
Saskatoon	113%
Fort McMurray, Alta.	111%
Gamouco, Ont.	103%

City	Rate
Winnipeg	104%
Arthursville, B.C.	267%
Bedford, N.S.	221%
New Westminster, B.C.	187%
Medicine Hat, Alta.	174%
Edmonton	154%
Regina	136%
Capehorn, B.C.	130%
Saskatoon	113%
Fort McMurray, Alta.	111%
Gamouco, Ont.	103%

City	Rate
Regina	136%
Saskatoon	113%
Prince George, B.C.	104%
Arthursville, B.C.	267%
Bedford, N.S.	221%
New Westminster, B.C.	187%
Medicine Hat, Alta.	174%
Edmonton	154%
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Edmonton	154%
Regina	136%
Capehorn, B.C.	130%
Saskatoon	113%
Fort McMurray, Alta.	111%
Gamouco, Ont.	103%

The LOWEST 10 communities for each of six crimes and their percentage differences BELOW the national rate

City	Rate
Calgary	76.6%
Halton Region, Ont.	76.6%
St. John's, Nfld.	76.6%
St. Albert, Alta.	76.6%
Winnipeg	104%
Arthursville, B.C.	267%
Bedford, N.S.	221%
New Westminster, B.C.	187%
Medicine Hat, Alta.	174%
Edmonton	154%
Regina	136%

City	Rate
Calgary	76.6%
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St. John's, Nfld.	76.6%
St. Albert, Alta.	76.6%
Winnipeg	104%
Arthursville, B.C.	267%
Bedford, N.S.	221%
New Westminster, B.C.	187%
Medicine Hat, Alta.	174%
Edmonton	154%
Regina	136%

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St. John's, Nfld.	76.6%
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Arthursville, B.C.	267%
Bedford, N.S.	221%
New Westminster, B.C.	187%
Medicine Hat, Alta.	174%
Edmonton	154%
Regina	136%

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RESPONDING TO A CALL BY WINNIPEG'S CRIME BEAT



You're more likely to get your car stolen in Winnipeg or Joliet than anywhere in the U.S.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ADRIAN LAM

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Residents of Chilliwack, Victoria and Regina endured break-in rates more than 100 per cent above the national average

VICTORIA: 'About half the people we arrest aren't citizens of Victoria,' says the justice critic

ties, pull the strings of more chaotic street gangs of every sort. Disaffected immigrants and refugees, scorned by the violent majority of plebeian like Soudas and Ethiopians, form the nucleus of ultra-violent gangs like the Mad Cows and the African Nukes. "Sometimes people focus on the Aboriginal gangs," says Winnipeg police chief Keith McCall. "But it's everything, it really is."

It's easy to paint a hand picture in Canada's major cities of crime rampaging out of control. In fact, Canada's overall national crime rate hit its lowest point in over 35 years to 2006, led by a drop in property crime in all provinces. Still, the violent crime rate, which climbed from the 1960s through the end of the last century, was unchanged. Hiding behind gun crimes, perhaps the biggest driver of police fear, were stable in 2006 for the fourth straight year. Almost 2,000 people in the Toronto area were victims of gun crimes, one-quarter of the national total. Proportionately, however, Vancouver and Winnipeg had higher rates of gun violence, and Edmonton, followed by Abbotsford, B.C., had the highest rate of gun homicides.

The crime issue almost won Canada's polls recently. The federal Conservatives had promised to trigger an election if their Backing Violent Crime Act wasn't passed by

March. It passed just under the wire, ending its mandatory minimum sentences for gun crimes, toughening bad narcotics laws, and cracking down on some repeat offenders, among other things. Though McCall says most crimeologists see no convincing evidence of crime increasing as "consumer products," he cautions the Tories accurately read the public mood. "Crime makes political hay," he says. "I wouldn't want to be on the wrong side of that issue."

Last month's federal budget committed \$490 million to recruit 2,400 new police officers across the country, a welcome boost to overstuffed departments in B.C. and Alberta, for instance, a vibrant economy compounded by hefty home sales has left cities desperate for officers. Victoria's senior police chief, Neil MacInnes, said an interview by pleading only halfhearted, far MacInnes to prohibit the number of the department's remaining police. The 224-person force is overwhelmed by a growing workload, and by cost-cutting that has exponentially increased the time and complexity of moving a case to trial.

Victoria's crime rate rises in part thanks to the hub for government, tourism, entertainment and social services, says MacInnes. "We triple our population during the day and, come the evening, by those coming

into the entertainment district. About half the people we arrest aren't citizens of Victoria." Add to that the mild weather, which draws the hordes and fair-weather criminals from across the country, and the West Coast's "astro-ethnic universe," and you have the mass of mad as the city's highest rates of break and enters and robbery, he says. "It has over 1,300 chronic ID drug users, with probably 90 per cent of them within five to seven blocks of where we are," he says that upon an interview in downtown headquarters. "I think the larger of Victoria the Good has long dipped into history."

A night on patrol with Lane proves MacInnes' point. Although it's done by the standards of a Thursday, with another gang call near a building as the night before, it is, in the chief's words, a different city after 11 p.m. Street-level dealers scuffle into the sidewalks as Lane cruises. A martial woman at a homeless shelter describes an assault. He attends the Salvation Army band to back up two members of the emergency response team there to pick up a man who bled profusely for drug trafficking and a string of local break and enters. He doesn't know they're coming, and says an arrest can go either way. This guy proved extremely polite, considering he faces 11 more months of federal prison time. His downfall was a crime that took place four days ago, one he knew he'd hit. He thought at the assembly of it, offering up his head for the cuffs. "Just a little bit of work," he says, "a bit of coke."

An aggressive man of about 40 years old, he's offering up his head for the cuffs. "Just a little bit of work," he says, "a bit of coke." An aggressive man of about 40 years old, he's offering up his head for the cuffs. "Just a little bit of work," he says, "a bit of coke." An aggressive man of about 40 years old, he's offering up his head for the cuffs. "Just a little bit of work," he says, "a bit of coke."

As far as the old woman and her uterus, their mother case to be handled off the books. Lane says her in the hospital infirmary pouring out her life story to the reporter's cassette, a man of much presence. "She's already in hospital," says Lane. "If they can't handle her, what am I supposed to do, throw her in jail? Like the chief said, crime rates don't tell the whole story."

With Patrick Ziefle

ON THE WEB: For more exclusive crime stories, visit macleans.ca/onenews/macleans



Taking back the neighbourhood

From the front lines of Winnipeg's all-out assault on crime



BY KEVIN MACKEAN • The lead is 16. It's 11:30 a.m. in downtown Winnipeg, says the radio blaring in the Dodge van he was just parked out of. There's a

Winnipeg Police Service vehicle in front, three men behind. He's flat on his stomach on a snow-covered walk on Market Avenue, getting coffee, and not for the first time. There's another member within and two adults. You have a headliner for illegal substances in Winnipeg, you phone one of the many dope phone lines—maybe 60 in the city—and you place your order. It's a model of efficiency. "Buying crack cocaine around here is like ordering pizza, except they arrive faster," says Sgt. Northern Bruce of the Western Crime Unit—a flying squad deployed to problem neighborhoods and high-probability crime.

The play went down four minutes earlier, when a bearded guy, hunched in the cold of a Thursday night outside Boogies, a Main Street sports bar, snatched over to the van. It stopped snatching during the parking lot, just long enough to make the transaction. The bearded guy was Bob, an undercover cop, who traded over \$500 through the passenger window for three rods of crack. Sgt. Jim Fry ran surveillance from a distance and watched Bob's back. "Don't be made," he said quietly

with his radio. "Big white cigs, you're going to be having need about. Lots of windows on the side, copy?" A parade of waiting police vehicles assembled, using radios to choreograph the raid. The lead was in the passenger seat when he headed off the crack, today had been driving, at age 14, push, that would be illegal.

The Prairie cities of Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg have the three highest crime rates in Canada, based on a Maclean's analysis of 2006 crime data. Each then challenges inner city poverty and deprivation, serious addi-

A CHAHLIN MEMORIAL HONORING Winnipeg, who was shot dead in January



Buying crack cocaine around here is like ordering pizza—except they arrive faster

to police divisions. It was a drop in property crimes in 1992, but a slight rise in neck-and-neck crime as assault and armed robbery Winnipeg, the largest city of the three, has drafted community assistance units on a full-on assault on crime. What follows is a report from the front.

BY TIM DAKIN

Winnipeg Mayor James Klenk grew up in Winnipeg's gritty North End. As he believes in consequences, the image of his father at the top of the stairs firing up his kids to correct his father's wrongs comes to a vivid memory. "I can assure you never consented the same offence more than once," says Klenk as he sits in his office. He is president and CEO of the Winnipeg Golden Hawks Baseball Club. Like any ball star, he lives in the suburbs.

He studies Maclean's list of high-crime cities, neither surprised nor deterred. "We're number one in the top three. In the past I think it was wanted to acknowledge we have a problem with crime so they would do the old catch and throw their heads in the sand. I think a few years ago, we have a problem with crime, we're going to address it."

Throughout the city, a weekly coordination of city crime units for each of the city's six policing districts, and available to all through the Winnipeg Police Service Web page. There were, for instance, 595 arrested suspects and 130 arrested offenders held between Jan. 1 and mid-February—an overall 60 per cent drop in the year before. "We were the state's third capital of Canada," he says, as the Maclean's survey bears out. "It's not something you want to brag about. We're not that arrogant, but it's bottom line—

A VACANT home in the city's gritty North End

two and gang issues. The three have the highest percentage of armed Aboriginal crime—a population growth concentrated in the north and prisons.

A Maclean's expose last year of Regina's crime problems opened the city's eyes. But provincial spending followed for such key areas as education, community services and housing. "This January, city police created a central policing district to focus on the downtown and inner city neighborhoods. Saskatoon also restructured

Every two weeks, Winnipeg's new police Chief Keith McCaull meets with his district commanders to discuss needs. For every spike in the statistics there had better be a reason. The city's policing budget has jumped 14 percent in the last three years to \$650 million, 30 per cent of the municipal operating budget. "I'm not complaining about that," says Katz. "But I can tell you this much, if we're spending \$650 million of taxpayer's money on our police department, I want them accountable." City-of-five officers, an unusual degree of transparency for a Canadian city. Katz intends to take it further, allowing citizens to request outstanding crime reports for their neighborhoods.

Anti-violence initiatives occupied almost two-thirds of Katz's recent visit of the city and the bulk of the need for surveillance cameras, and increased spending on profits removal. He wants a zero tolerance policy on aggressive panhandling and public intoxication in the downtown and the hard Rock Exchange district. He's drafting an Aboriginal youth strategy that will focus on recreation and education and viable alternatives to gang culture. He backs the new federal crime legislation, with its mandatory minimum sentences for some offences and its hard line on gun crime. The Youth Criminal Justice Act is a prime example of what he calls the "catch-and-release program" of the justice system and the failure to impose consequences. "They'll arrest someone on a Tuesday for a DUI or something or so. They're out on a Thursday committing the same crime." He's heard of cases of chronic nose thieves.

sentences to arrest their costly mandated crime diversion programs. "The last month on per their 12- and 14-year old daughters on the street to bring in money to help them with their addictions," he says. "I hope the next time you and I talk," Katz says of the crime rate, "we're not over the top."

THE FIGHT FOR MAGNAN AVE.

On a bright morning, almost too cold for crime, a woman on camera can look between the blinds of a house, smiling. Rick Sciaky and Scott Jeff Norman pull up on Gill Magnus. Life story on the street, it's a model of life-story house, just in prime. In the early days of the new year, someone emptied a gun through its front door, killing 35-year-old Jo Anne Hingman. She was eight months pregnant, living in a crack shack. Mothers

of sorrow are faced to the same line: "Sweet daughter/dad/son. I love you and my heart is right (grind/laugh). But I never had a chance to meet," says one. Hingman was the seventh homicide in Magnus and her surrounding streets in the past year. They were the ninth murder in a four-block stretch of Magnus in seven years; in other people's words, it was a hot zone.

Nearby like that get Chief McCaull's attention, which is why Sciaky and Norman and the rest of the street crime unit immediately passed the area to their counterparts.

FOOT PATROL (from top left) Mayor Katz, Chief McCaull, Larry Harrisville



"We have a serious crime problem. We're going to address it."



Aboriginals weren't as fortunate. He does not exclude. "We are not telling them to throw you [gang] in." Some in the program step back to gang life and talk, some go to university. He does not judge. Morrison was home recreation as a metaphor. True, they repeat "none of the damage they feel they have done to the community." The real benefit is "decolonization," he says.

They're better than their stereotypes. Many institutions have collapsed, they live in poverty. The institutions shaping their lives, police and the courts, limit rather than expand their options. "Part of this is the idea of reforming the colonial relationship," he says. "We have to rebuild it so that they can do it. We need to support those who have power but the bottom line is it can't be taken away from them. Without work the work." One house at a time.

SAVING POINT DOUGLAS

It's a year since Len and Peter left moved from Calgary to Winnipeg's troubled Point Douglas district, but, oh, the night they're in. It was some apparent security at their Avenue Street home was an issue, no Peter would surveillance cameras. Then another. They saw no reason. They moved the things of

very active neighborhood. Cam stopping long enough to buy a crack at a morning house across the street. The flambé light on Jan 29 was the precursor to the arson fire of a nearby house. On Feb. 23, they attended a cabbie being robbed and beaten. "You have video?" the Winnipeg officers marvelled. They'd missed a description to police hold a suspect for four blocks away. "Hanging on him," they said, "it's our man."

POLICE search a house for a known criminal



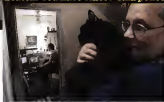
the police couldn't be happier. Chief McCaull POLICE search a house for a known criminal. He's back about his presence. "Once you're involved with gangs, it's hard not to get involved." There could be an ugly situation that needs his help. "I kind of dread sometimes when the phone rings, you know?" He's paranoid about his, they're getting. That's how it works, even the best of them. "I'd rather or less have no choice but to go because if I didn't there'd be consequences I could get involved. I could get beat up." Later

could like that," he says, working a signpost down to no risk. "We'd feel each other and basically look out for one another. As we get older, it got more serious. The level of violence got higher." He had no brother in the house. They're dead now residents. He got neighbors as a foster gang on the main. Main. Wharton, not a good situation.

GANGS and T.T. for the sake of his health, across the door of a room, near North End house. He's a long standing member of the notorious Indian Posse. He's carrying a coffee and warty looking to his watch. "This can't go to take long, it's 10." He asks, "You're a 4-0 deck looking to be at." He passes a beat then cracks a gun, knowing the best there as an of plainclothes. T.T. is his old 196, on the long end of a nearby. Winnipeg Mountain Initiative, having served around federal time for armed robbery. He figures he's been incarcerated for 10 years of his life. This time he's staying to stay, he has a grandfather to look after. One expects he's promised himself that before.

He was born in Winnipeg and gravitated to the gangs as a natural progression, the way middle class kids join a hockey team. "A lot of parents weren't around. They were either drinking or doing drugs or sniffing glue at

They recorded a cabbie being beaten. 'You have video?' said police



UNDER WATCH The Tatis installed eight surveillance cameras at their home

and I can't be a cop, working a signpost down to no risk. "We'd feel each other and basically look out for one another. As we get older, it got more serious. The level of violence got higher." He had no brother in the house. They're dead now residents. He got neighbors as a foster gang on the main. Main. Wharton, not a good situation.

The gangs exert an almost magnetic pull on the most vulnerable in Winnipeg, can understand the brightness of the Aboriginal gangsterism never prevails across the West. They find their lives fighting for turf and criminal market share with the likes of the Bad Crew and the African Mafia, whose members were schooled in the violence and dysfunction of street life in Somalia, Libya, and Sierra Leone. While at the Winnipeg police headquarters are decorated with map-shed family trees of the various gangs. There are a few white faces, but predominantly

they are black or brown—men, inevitably, are most of their victims.

T.T. picked up much of his knowledge of Aboriginal culture in prison. "I live there, the worst lodge and they give you all the teachings." That, and finally heard served video, are the only things of value he carried into the world from his "ultimately appropriate" childhood.

He reflects on the changes in his rough neighborhood, poverty being the one constant. "It's just a crack of constant built," he says. "Black and white coexistence around the violence is just a household rule." He knows the police are watching, and any breach in quiet or probation conditions will strain him. To be him, it's a double standard. "I'm not smart," he says, but what about the parents telling his neighborhood for jobs? "It's white guys and police don't do nothing about that. When's the real crime being committed? Is it the guy selling drugs to put food on the table, or the creep chasing around trying to have sex with a 15-year-old girl?"

He's back about his presence. "Once you're involved with gangs, it's hard not to get involved." There could be an ugly situation that needs his help. "I kind of dread sometimes when the phone rings, you know?" He's paranoid about his, they're getting. That's how it works, even the best of them. "I'd rather or less have no choice but to go because if I didn't there'd be consequences I could get involved. I could get beat up." Later

Mayor Katz, T.T. believes in consequences

SHOOT SHOOT

After the dead a dope house across the paper week. The dope's been a long time with new orders. "Here," says a cop, "you answer the one." It's a guy, sounds to be a member there, looking for a way. Shot at a Mobil gas station. It will be a long, cold wait.

The street was minor, but it spurs new units of investigation and old units of frustration. The drug suppliers, with ties to the Indian Posse, are well-organized by a celebrity sponsor of all wrongdoing. They were even better to change the phone number. The temporary loss of delivery will, says Big, is a act of drug business.

The people who handled off the crack, a third-generation gang affiliate, is charged with maintaining. He's released, with pre-trial conditions. He was given a ride home. He is, after all, 14. ■

Where you can't get away with anything

**'Strict' cops make
Calodon, Ont., Canada's
safest place—for now**

BY KATE LUNAK • In a local community centre one work day afternoon, roughly 30 elderly residents of Calodon, Ont. — a town of 18,000 people just 48 km northwest of Toronto — gather to play cards. Majorie Slack leads the group in the national anthem and Lord's Prayer, then says "I guess we'll play cards," and a happy din fills the room. Like many others, 79-year-old Slack has dug

How to explain it? Mayor Marilyn Morrison credits the Calodon OPP and residents in equal measure. Local police "recognize that a safe community has to bring everybody together," Morrison says. Several times a year, the mayor goes door-to-door with detective constable Inspector Andy Kanko. Despite their small numbers, police officers are extremely visible here, patrolling in 4,000 hours of foot patrol in 2007 (up from 3,000 in 2006). Local police have 100,000 interactions with the public per year. "Last year," Inspector Kanko says, "we had 12 public complaints."

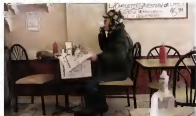
In Calodon, extensive justice (which brings suspects and victims together with a mediator instead of a court judge) has been used exten-

its growth. Canadian towns Parley Mears, Robinsonville and Norman Junction have all called Calodon home. Adult residents have an average income of about \$12,000, compared with \$24,800 across Ontario. The population is overwhelmingly white and English-speaking (almost half of all residents are third-generation Canadians or more).

But outsiders can't pretend own set of problems. Across towns where the seniors' group plays cards, teenagers gather at the local Tim Horton's. When asked why Calodon is so safe, 17-year-old 491 Kristina Smirak. "It's because the cops are so strict," he says. The town lacks a public transportation system, leaving many more effectively stranded. "Unless you have a driver's license," says Kipka Nishik, 12, "there's nowhere to go." Despite annual programs aimed at youth, petty crimes (from vandalism to drugs) remain a concern.

But Calodon won't be a sleepy hollow for ever. The population is expected to jump 48 per cent by 2021, and the town already has growing pains. No lights spoke of "social lights" erupting at her high school, between levels and from nearby Brampton (where 60 per cent of residents are first-generation Canadians), who are based in to attend class. Affordable housing is already scarce; a three-year detached home costs \$463,700, and the town lacks a shelter. Despite a range of services (including ESL classes, pay-for use transportation and a food bank) offered by local not-for-profit Calodon Community Services, it remains "very hard to be poor in Calodon," CDS executive director Mervyn Lusk says. Kanko shares some thoughts on why nine of the top 10 most dangerous communities surveyed by Maclean's are in the West. "When a city goes through a lot of growth," he says, "it often weakens its support mechanisms." While robberies are up in Calodon, Brampton has seen a spike. So the Calodon OPP is offering a robbery prevention seminar for local retailers, free of charge. As Calodon continues to grow, Kanko emphasizes, "I don't want to keep up. I want to be ahead."

Intention to be ahead how residents cope with the growth of their town. David Hittingwerf's father was the local Maclean's a century ago. "He would turn over in his grave," the 77-year-old says, "if he could see [Calodon] now." Just give it another 10 years. ■



CALODON won't be sleepy forever. The population is expected to jump 48 per cent by 2021.

roots in that town: also moved here over 90 years ago after arriving a local dairy farmer. Of the 100 biggest cities or regions in Canada, Calodon is the safest. In 2006, the most recent year for which there's annual data, it ranked the lowest—207 per cent below the national average—for a score combining six crimes (murder, sexual assault, breaking and entering, vehicle theft, aggravated assault, and robbery). Calodon's overall crime score has improved: In 2001, it was 74 per cent below the national average. And in 1996, it was 75 per cent below (in both three years, it was the fifth safest of the 200 police units surveyed). The Calodon detachment of the Ontario Provincial Police is responsible for about 79,600 people, according to Statistics Canada. Incidentally, with just 54 police officers per 100,000 people—far below the national average of 193—over 96 per cent of all violent crimes here are solved.

ately since 2006 to resolve non-violent incidents, from neighborhood disputes to vandalism. "It gives the victim a voice," Kanko says. And "the suspect has to sit there, and listen to it." Of all the cases in which alternative justice has been used, he says, the Calodon OPP has never had a negative follow-up interaction with the suspect again.

Just across the river from Toronto, Calodon is still home to many functioning farms. But rows of stately houses speak to the town's wealth—and succeeding subdivisions tell of



HOW TO DUMP YOUR EX WITH 36 EASY CALLS
April 19th of New Mexico wanted to break up with his ex-girlfriend, but rather than be conventional, she asked to prove in front of the court. He agreed to do so. He thought that his girlfriend would leave her alone when he learned she had made the house calls, of which there were 36. Instead, she's getting two points in prison and an order to pay \$10,000 to the state. The boyfriend is presently living in a mental hospital. The boyfriend is presently living in a mental hospital.

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SOME BLOOD BROTHERS In Berlin, make themselves right at home among 3.6 million people

GOING HOG WILD

Attacking boar. Revenge killings by deer. It's mayhem in Germany.

BY KAREN KORTON • Antelopes running amok in Germany, where neither man nor beast fearfully safe either on city streets or in the forest. At the 46th Nuremberg Zoo, touted as one of Europe's most beautiful, authorities announced last week that they had apprehended the carcass of a roan deer found dead with its stomachs full of deer on Feb. 10. Like culprits who were mauling, no longer and police had their assumed, but eye-witness: they were with sharp, antlered deer, known as Red Deer. Meanwhile, in a suburb of Frankfurt, victims of a bear were frightened by the sudden appearance of a large wild boar, one of the thousands that roam free around the country. When zoologists arrived on the scene, the bear turned the tables on them and the hunters became the hunted, escaping only, as a police spokesman later described, by "making it" hold long into the balcony of an apartment block. Although the casualties managed to wound the animal, it escaped.

Not that the boar would have been much safer behind bars. Zoos can be dangerous places. In January, Nuremberg decided to limit access to a bear cub when it roared repeatedly, dragged it on its hind, and German media went wild with fury when zoo staff allowed another polar bear female to eat her cub without intervening. As for the deer penis and the deer, Dr. Christian Grunwald, a senior veterinarian at the Metro Zoo in Zoo, explains their lingering more than one species under the same roof "makes a more interesting exhibit for visitors to see." But, although the Zoo is now the most

deer and two red pandas, Grunwald says that these together in making for trouble. "In Germany, the deer share the exhibit with pigs, hogs, and we have had them in with our rhinos where they don't present a threat. Having seen what species can do to each other for territorial reasons," he adds, "the manager could tell a red panda—easy."

"Why the deer named in the first panda, coming to the zoo, is anyone's guess (the zoo says it was a case of animal violence, possibly a panda attacked a bear) but the very increasing border of wild boar and its capture in the forest, from the French border, the sudden forester and hunter. Hunter Grunwald says the pig-like bear is attacking the rabbits for a number of very special reasons. The climate is warmer, he says, and food is more readily available. Plus, since it is concentrated in valleys around 1995, Germany has no known predators. (Initially, when a few wolves roamed into the country from Poland last year, they were killed for hunters to shoot them on sight.) Grunwald, however, and hundreds of other German hunters are kind by the government to kill the boar, which can weigh as much as 300 lb in its home alone. Zoo were the last year-

most than were killed in the entire country before the Second World War.

But in cities like Berlin, where an estimated 3,000 wild boar wander among the 3.4 million people, often holding down curbside near their BMWs, things are different. "These they find them," Grunwald says with compassion. "When you point a city, the people say, 'Oh god! Don't shoot the animals!' But not in unpopulated areas, where there is a lot of corn and potatoes, which wild boar love. When they see what they do to the crops, they think it's good when they're in." In fact, Berliners get a taste of what foraging boar can do when, last fall, a herd of as many as 25 of the hefty creatures tore up 1,000 German wartime graves in Stahnsdorf cemetery, just south of the city.

Schneider, for one, who had a pet bear as a child, has great respect for the pigs. They are intelligent and fearless, as well as dangerous, he says. "Hunters will use their masks as a weapon. They track out to 400 yards and they run up very close open. The females' powerful bites will crush bones in your leg, or your arm." Still, he says, usually wild boar will run—if they can.

But running is not so easy in the confines



MORTAL ENEMIES A mimetic shift and a red panda. "Zoo staff species because it makes it more interesting exhibit."

of a zoo. At Nuremberg, the remaining red pandas have been separated from the main pack. As for the massive polar bear cub, named Huckle (Siberian), zoo officials are hoping to replicate the success of their sister zoo in Berlin, which managed to make some US\$7 million during the years surrounding their famous cub, Kova, before he grew up. Director Dirk Brackel drafted a promise: "The Kaiser's visit and polar bear cub may coincide." Let's hope zoo visitors are not treated to more bloody displays inside some of the other enclosures. ■



GET YOUR HAIR CUT BEFORE PLAYING WITH A LION It sounds not a good idea to enter a lion's enclosure sporting a long mane of lion hair. When English schoolteacher Kate Drew visited a lion-feeding enclosure on a tour of a Zimbabwe game preserve, a 300-kg cat leapt on her, apparently keen on playing. Not so gently, it turns out. Drew was only saved after game wardens beat the lion away with sticks. She needed 10 stitches to her neck. "What a crazy experience," Drew says.

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER HOLLAND; NUREMBERG ZOO; WILDLIFE PHOTOGRAPHY

WARM AND TOO DRY

The last global warming was good for Europe but not the rest of us

BY BRIAN KATZ • Around the end of the first millennium, Europe, a continent in the red of heat, started moving people from its unpopulated areas. For reasons still little understood, temperatures began to rise, not by much—less than two degrees Celsius—and not everywhere at all times, but enough to make a long-term difference for a culture of subsistence farmers. Over the next 300 years, the growing season lasted weeks longer than in the past, summers featured similar conditions will be longer, and the killing frost from this time to play havoc with crop yields disappeared. Vineyards flourished in England and southern Norway, farmers planted where none did today, on Scottish moors 300 m above sea level and in Alpine valleys that a century before (and again in centuries to come) were covered by glaciers. Wealth and population exploded, and the medieval achievements of the High Middle Ages, from Gothic cathedrals to crusader empires, followed.

Historians have long blamed the heat for the Medieval Warm Period, as it's known, and its beneficial effects on Western civilization. But a new vision, and a more realistic lack of data on other cultures' weather patterns, generally support them from pondering the obvious. Climate may make its effects felt locally, but it's a global phenomenon—here was the rest of the world going. The answer, according to Brian Katz in *The Great Warming* (Stannard), is, not very well at all.

Even for Europe wasn't all nice and sunny. On its eastern edge, summer and drier times took passage on the steppe, sparking nomadic pastoralism. The English Roman turned into a powerful empire (one of the island's greatest) was on the verge of overrunning Rome. Europe in 1241 when the pulled back forces had up to the father's death, never to return. And Roman roads that made the empire a great power and a great power made the empire a great power. The Roman roads that made the empire a great power and a great power made the empire a great power. The Roman roads that made the empire a great power and a great power made the empire a great power.

But it was a lack of water that bedeviled much of the rest of humanity, notes Katz, an anthropologist who specializes in the interaction of climate and culture. Societies that had flourished in cooler, wetter times had to

struggle to adapt. None were successful, and many didn't survive at all. In 1143, the Carolingian king Henry V died of a fever while building his waterworks, Angkor Wat. Thousands of workers labored on this stone city of the Hindu cosmological universe, all of them supported by rice grown in paddies made possible by regular summer floods.



A MEDIEVAL AGO, European crops flourished but drought imperiled Asian civilizations across the Americas Southwest.

When the paddies began to dry up soon afterwards, the complex was abandoned.

In 1492, U.S. soldiers in Chaco Canyon, N.M., stumbled on the ruins of Pueblo Bonito, one of the great architectural achievements

of the ancient Americas. Constructed by the Anasazi people between 900 and 1300, the complex had more than 600 rooms and a population of about 3,000. Only sophisticated agricultural management could have sustained that many in a region that never before water-rich. While the rains stopped and a drought, drought long more drought began in 1276, it took time for half a century for Pueblo Bonito to empty.

Medieval drought was indeed again in the Western Hemisphere's dry areas—in California 144 years, from 1389 to 1530—but they melted away

into regions steadily well-watered. Pallen came from the Hudson valley in New York State show dry conditions from 1600 to 1700. Even South American states and the classical Mayan culture—called "hydraulic civilization" because they depended on managing water supplies—also collapsed under drought conditions. The struggle for diminishing resources often earned vicious wars in the Americas: a study of late native empires in California revealed a sharp increase in violence, death, and war, and by 1500 and 1600, the

Pagan conveyed a three-fold message. Small term per capita savings can have large effects, whether good or bad depends on where you live. Most importantly, for all of mankind's concerns about rising sea levels and coastal cities like New York, the evidence of the Medoval Warm Period tells us that drought is the "the most dangerous" in the world. The most dangerous, the

UN estimates, are million people live in areas suffering from water shortages. If all of century-long drought returns, that count will be far higher, and our vulnerability does much worse. ■



POSTWAR AUSTRALIA: A CHERRY PRIVILEGE How in its 34th year, last weekend's "Museum of the Future" festival in Melbourne had potentially been banned by organizers in 1955 after a poster in an Aboriginal club of expressions meaning "let's get together and have fun." But not, the organizers suggest, "because" actually means "up your butt." Aboriginal activist and writer Geoffrey Gurr Poley says, "Mostly means, 'let's have a good time.'" Despite such challenges, no one wants to change the name.

'I WANTED TO JUMP FOR JOY. IT'S A GREAT FEELING THEY'RE HEALTHY'—THEA WILLSON OF NEW WESTMINSTER AFTER THE EXTREMELY RARE FEAT OF GIVING BIRTH TO IDENTICAL TRIPLETS

PRINCE MAX OF LIECHTENSTEIN A PROBE INTO 'PEANUTS'

Liechtenstein has long confied neighboring Switzerland's share of the Swiss banking market, but now finds its own tax haven status under international scrutiny. The tiny Alpine state is investigating a former employee of its LGT Group bank for e-mail espionage after he sold data in 2006 on clients from 14 countries—including Switzerland—to German authorities trying to crack down on tax-avoidance evasion. Like Swiss Highness Prince Max of Liechtenstein, the second son of the nation's ruler, Prince Hans Adam II, and chief of LGT Group, owned by the royal family, isn't happy with the sudden spotlight on an industry that accounts for 80 percent of the nation's economy. Recently, he pointed the finger at other research companies, such as the Cayman Islands and Bermuda, two of Britain's dependant overseas territories. So far, though, the prince says in the wake of the scandal the bank's clients have with drawn funds amounting only to "peanuts."



ABDULLAH AHMAD BADAWI A DISASTROUS VICTORY

So used to winning elections, Mubarak's Barisan National coalition was shocked last Sunday when general election results showed it had taken only 142 of 222 seats in Sarawak's election, prompting Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi to mutter, "We've lost." It was the governing coalition's worst performance since independence 50 years ago. The opposition parties shot up from 10 seats to more than 80. Voters were upset over sluggish economic performance. More ominous in a nation with a delicate racial balance is resentment among Chinese and Indian minorities who bide in long-standing and, once assert, obsolete policies favoring indigenous Malays. Sarawak's results will spark calls for Badawi's resignation, and it was a little help that his government, the long-vetted former prime minister Mahatma Mohamad, said that Badawi is "100 per cent responsible." Badawi has refused to step down, but Sarawak's election results may prove irresistible.

OSWALD MARSHALL WHO LET THE SLED DOGE OUT

"Mush, mush." That's the motto of Jamaica's dogged team (not to be confused with the Jamaican bobbed team, fodder for the 1995 *Rich Cool Runnings*). On March 27 and 28, lead member Oswald "Newton" Marshall will compete in his first marathon—the 315 km Pelly DeWilde Memorial Mail Race, from Dawson City, Yukon, to Eagle, Alaska, and back. "We have been freezing had in some rough weather doing about four 100-mile runs a week," says Marshall, 24, based in the territory since November. It's a far cry from Jamaica, where he must with a dryland depleted puffed by a pack of nearly two dozen rivals from the Jamaica SPCA. The dogs, among them Big Ben, Storm, Smiley and Jimmy, also pulled tourna-tournaled Jamaica on teams with the sled. If Marshall successfully completes the Percy DeWilde Race, he'll be one step closer to his goal: qualifying for next year's 1,600-km Yukon Quest, a grueling effort that can last up to 16 days. "Mission Jimmy Buffett, where the team calls their 'paddies,'" offers Marshall some warm encouragement. "You are one brave Jamaican man, up there in the frozen North."

DAVID WALLIAMS A LITTLE BRITON COMPOSER THE DEAG

The star of the doghouse but wildly popular hit comedy series *Little Britain* in Britain for weeks, the Merchant of Death was finally run to ground. Arm dealer Viktor Bout, 41, had become something of a dark, modern legend. A former Red Army officer, Bout turned to the weapons trade after the collapse of the Soviet Union, to war-torn countries around the world—often in the shadow of United Nations embargoes. The inspiration for the 2005 Nicolas Cage film *Lord of War*, Bout had a client list that included a host of African governments, insurgent groups and the Taliban. Bout was apprehended while arranging a multi-million-dollar transaction with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration against arms trafficking in the U.K.'s prison system. The arresting authorities are expected to return him over to U.S. prosecution.



VIKTOR BOUT THE MERCHANT OF DEATH IS SHUT DOWN

In a five-star hotel in Bangkok last week, when international investigations spanning years and continents, the Merchant of Death was finally run to ground. Arm dealer Viktor Bout, 41, had become something of a dark, modern legend. A former Red Army officer, Bout turned to the weapons trade after the collapse of the Soviet Union, to war-torn countries around the world—often in the shadow of United Nations embargoes. The inspiration for the 2005 Nicolas Cage film *Lord of War*, Bout had a client list that included a host of African governments, insurgent groups and the Taliban. Bout was apprehended while arranging a multi-million-dollar transaction with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration against arms trafficking in the U.K.'s prison system. The arresting authorities are expected to return him over to U.S. prosecution.



LEONARD COHEN A LITERARY ROGUE IN THE HALL OF FAME

Though he once famously wrote that Hank Williams lived "in a faded room above [him] in the Tower of Song," Leonard Cohen has become the country music legend's peer on one regard: both are now members of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. In a ceremony Monday night in New York City, the Montreal-born Cohen entered the pantheon. Cohen's music is a literary counterpart to rock's popular tradition. After a decades-long career, Cohen—renowned after his former manager allegedly donated more than US\$5 million from the singer's savings—has been releasing music regularly again. His first solo in 15 years is planned for the summer, and with the aid of something Williams never managed—hall of fame induction—Cohen is looking to make a comeback in the U.K.'s pop-spectacular Glastonbury Festival.

CARLY FEDRINA BUSINESS LEADS JOHN MCCAIN A HAND

She doesn't consider herself gay, but when Barack and Michelle Obama and Congress, but now former CEO Carly Fiorina has taken an even tougher job to the "victory fund" chairman for the Republican National Committee. For a party desperately trying to raise money—John McCain has brought in only a third of what Bill Clinton and Barack Obama have raised—and many of its congressional candidates are facing formidable odds—getting someone of Fiorina's caliber is a coup. She's the second business leader to come onside to help McCain get into the White House. John Chambers, the respected former Cisco Systems, has advised McCain on technology, as well as helping with American financial issues. With the campaign increasingly focused on the slowing U.S. economy, Fiorina and Chambers will have their work cut out helping the presumptive Republican nominee. In December, with typical candor, McCain admitted, "The state of economics is something that I've really never understood as well as I should."



THE WILLSONS MIRACLES COME IN THREES

Then and Phil Willson are working to replace these days: three infant cars seats, three high chairs, three cribs. The Willsons are the proud parents of tiny triplets who made history at a Vancouver area hospital. Not only were the medical miracles conceived naturally, but they were born on Feb. 25, leap year day, and they are identical. David, Alex and Gemma are now undernourished according to the doctors at Royal Columbian Hospital in New Westminster, B.C., where they were delivered, they are believed to be the first identical triplets in medical record. Then and Phil only learned they'd be having triplets when they had their five-month ultrasound. Born 16 weeks before the due date, the newborns are already here back on their side. "I wanted to jump for joy," says Phil. "It's a great feeling that they are healthy." Turns out that they, although a first-time mom, has lots of experience. Before her first trick delivery she's been a day-care worker.



JO PHILLIPS/ALAMY OUTLINE

THE BACK PAGES

Artists cry
censorship

14

With buses,
and trucks

11-12

and had
windows.

1999

Wegman's test
"timely" var

PAGE

Working for your
winter wardrobe

Product

Pharmacokinetics

10-10



South Park

Its creators can now barely watch the show that made them rich BY JAIME J. WEINMAN **grows up**

Its creators can now barely watch the show that made them rich BY JAIME J. WEINMAN

tw

tv **At South Park** begins its tradition this week, the colorful series about the wild, often surreal Colorado fourth-graders has never been less culturally relevant. The creation of writer-director Trey Parker and producer Matt Stone (who between them voice four of the main characters), the *South Park*, Kyle, Kenny and Kenny remains one of the most popular shows on Comedy Central and Cinemax's Comedy Network. Yet at a way, its time has passed. When *South Park* debuted in 1995, based on a short story by Parker and Stone, it was the first Christmas episode at the time. But the New York Times described as the "gratifying obsession" of 1990s culture, "spreading a message and turning Parker and Stone into newsmen." Now it's over the most influential show on its network, *South Park* can parody Hillary Clinton but *The Daily Show* can have it as a guest. But instead of being nostalgic for the time when they were

RECENT episodes have been almost apolitical like the one on the home theater wars.

on the edge of pop culture, Rosen—who has done most interviews for the years—told Menzies that he and Parker can barely watch the episodes that made them rich. "They're terrible as far as story structure and missed opportunities for great jokes." If he's right, and South Park is better now, it may not matter that it's less controversial.

The obituary about South Park is that it's not there for things that don't necessarily do best. To count on South Park is to know that for the winning gag about the medical world, Kenny getting hit is every week. But the gag became all very dry, and the creators have mostly dropped it. "He's such a prep," says Stone. "He can't really talk." The show is also known for its political humor, because each episode is produced in a week, it can respond instantly to topical events. But Parker has said his best scripts are the ones that focus less on messages and more on "boys being boys." The most popular secret episode has been about apartheid: the show may have

with a throw about Custer Hero. South Park still has lots of satirical humour, but much of it is an exaggerated way of making the audience, in Stone's words, "kind of return for what it was like to be eight years old."

South Africa doesn't have much choice but to emphasize its non-racialist side if it's to survive through two elections to be a true constitutional force. At last week's assembly was brought to an end when South African Cabinet's Deputy Minister, prominent Eric Carmichael on a higher level, declared that the country is, in fact, a South African. Early in this decade, it is said to be, though South Africa was about to become a South African again, in political construction started pointing to Parker and Stone as the leaders of a political movement. Conservatives in the show for its attacks on union-creating activities and conservatism, and South African Journal, published a book called South Africa: A Conservative. The book argues a Liberal Media bias.

Parley and Stone were uncomfortable with being named as conservative critics. Some

complain that "as soon as something goes popular, it gets co-opted by our media saying 'that's cool.'" Still, they seemed to us not like the idea for several years, angling up the political messages in the show. The events, and changing political winds, caught up with them. By the time their 2006 election episode premiered, weeding as a choice between "a queer director and a hard-headed," the gap on both your (viewer) approach was like a mile of the Clinton era. As the show began, already dated in the more polarized South era. Michael Cusack, an editor for the *Queer Nation* blog *QueerNation.ca*, adds that while the show still appeals to liberal-minded like himself, conservatives turned away when they realized that the creators "didn't hold conservative moral values." By the time Parker and Stone did an episode attacking the Republicans for the behavior in the Tim Schiavo controversy, the *South Park* Republicans were over.

Since then, there have been infamous retooling episodes, like *Sexuality 101* (that led to the departure of *South Park* voice actor (and Sexologist) Eric Lipton). But there are no off-camera. When Parker and Stone tried to start a controversy in a 2006 episode about censorship and racism over images of Muhammad, they were charged to discover that the only thing that made the headlines was their cartoon on another animated show, *Family Guy*.

What's left for *South Park* is to concentrate on things it didn't have when it was riding high in the late '90s, like strong characters. Originally the characters were differentiated only by basic traits (Cartman the fat kid, Kyle the Jewish kid, Kenny the kid who dies). But over time, the characters have developed in unexpected ways. An early running gag about Cartman's anti-Semitic class against Kyle has turned into a strangely complex relationship, with many episodes—including the three-part "Immature" episode that forced the omnipresence of *South Park*'s most recent major—ball around Cartman's often attempts to resolve a rivalry over his rival. It's a love-hate relationship that results in the friendship of Parker and Stone on all in the *Family*, one of Parker and Stone's favorite shows.

The show has also grown by giving more complexity to characters who were once flat in the late '90s. Several episodes last season focused on Randy Marsh, Stan's macho but nervous father, or the kids' teacher, Mr. Garrison, who underwent a sex-change operation. But the most important bit of character development is the rise of the boys' discussion forum, the website's recap of the early seasons. Butters, described by Stone (who provides his own voice) as an embod-



Stone could be describing 'Friends' when he talks about what makes a good 'South Park' episode



ing "permanent innocence," is out of black with the big brother that made *South Park* a trademark, he'd be like a "10-year-old child if it weren't for the fact that his innocence always gets him hurt and abused. But none of the most well-defined and likable characters on the show, he's become useful for stories that would be out of character for the other boys, particularly in episodes where Garrison wants to show us explain him. "You've got to come up with some new characters, with some new ways of looking at the world," says Stone, "or you'll just die."

South Park has also improved visually, even though the characters are still mostly drawn from only one angle. Parker and the anim-

ators have lived up to the happy cartoon animation with shadow, special effects, and elaborate subjects like a black Rogers parody or a much darker movie about the lives of hellfire. Stone says they're doing better than they did on bigger budgets. "If you look at the *South Park* movie which we did in '96, and then at the animated thing we did last season, drastically and dramatically it's worlds beyond what we were doing, even in a comic format. Scenes that would have been single paragraphs staying now as these cinematic things. And that's because they as a director has grown to much."

All this means that no matter how ridiculous the stories get—and they still getting a world where *South Park* is a ruling power of fear—the core of *South Park* is strongly controversial. Stone could be describing *Friends* when he says that a good *South Park* episode is one that "seems on a really solid story involving one of the characters. Those are the ones that appeal most to us, because we're storytellers at heart." Unable to cause the controversy it once did, *South Park* has filled a void left by the decline of the sitcoms that play off our familiarity with the characters. An episode like last season's "The Poor Kid" was funny not because it found comedy in *South Park*'s syndrome (the issue was dealt with somewhat respectfully) but because it was so in character for Cartman to take having the disease as he'd be late to say whatever he wanted. *South Park* by now is mostly about how our favorite characters react in certain situations. It just happens that these situations include facing a mob of homeless zombies or getting illegal immigrants to do their house work for them.

As the plot doesn't seem likely that *South Park* will ever get back to the cultural position it occupied in the late '90s. For one thing, it doesn't have much of a legacy whereas *The Simpsons* spawned many imitators and *Family Guy* has been successfully copied a number of times (including *American Dad!*, from the same producers). *South Park* remains a show about the world. Other cheap cartoons with similar sensibilities include *Boyz n the City* and *Cartoon Network* (like *Looney Tunes*), have never been particularly popular. And Parker and Stone are so close to closing up with a second hit, instead they're announcing plans to produce other people's shows, including a U.S. version of Canada's *Animaparc* (Society). But Stone seems to think that he and Parker benefit from the fact that they don't have to be cultural icons. "We've done it, we've achieved it, so now it's like the pressure's off." If the new season is up to *South Park*'s recent level, it may prove what no one predicted back in 1997: *South Park* does better work when it's not expected to be cutting-edge. ■

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"WE LOVE THIS NEW BACON," wrote a President's Choice customer. "It's like the bacon I remember having in Saskatchewan years ago!"

The new obsession with bacon size

The thin stuff just doesn't compare to the new hand-cut slices up to half an inch thick

BY AMY DORRIS • At Paul's Restaurant in Vancouver, chef Robert Belcham is his young son's chef's wife, and his restaurant is open kitchen, everything on view from the street-side windows. The outdoor dining table, hanging from the ceiling, they have their own character: hanging from the ceiling. They also make their own bacon. "We don't have a slicer here," says Belcham, "we do it by eye, but it's got to be at least a quarter inch thick." With the coming of the Armada phenomenon, bacon slices may be down south in North America, but bacon thickness is up. Way up.

Many Toronto butchers doing Canada's off-inn cut double-smoked bacon, while the Little Pork Shop in Stoughton, Ont., makes naturally smoked thick-cut bacon. Even the President's Choice line at Loblaw now offers several varieties of thick-sliced bacon, including double-smoked, naturally smoked, extra thick-cut bacon. Sell one customer every two days. "We love this new thicker bacon. It's like the bacon I remember having back in Saskatchewan years ago," wrote.

At Toronto's Edward Levesque's Kitchen, thick-cut double-smoked bacon is a popular side item in the brunch menu, while the thick-cut double-smoked bacon, an "upgrade" burger topping at Ottawa's (in)famous The Whole Burger House. Even a recent Chai's restaurant, commercial features a new south-eastern-style bacon, a hamburger topped with triple-cut bacon, "the thickest bacon you've ever seen."

At the lovely Saturday morning farmers' market in Halifax's Keith's Brewery building, the Little Donkey Farm's booth is one of the most popular. The Donkey Farm owners operate a ready-on-demand setting system for their

poetry, veal, pork and lamb, which is to say that farming marries Mousen Eggs and family don't just raise their own pigs and make their own bacon, they grow the grain (and do their own sage with an preserves) that feeds the piglets that make the bacon. Their pork is raised on barley meal and a naturally milled. Today, their wood-smoked double-cut bacon is flying out from the glass case. It's sliced at "just under a quarter inch," says Levesque. "It's not called 'premium'—it's out from the park belly that is not cured or cured—in our actual in each thick. "People don't want preservation and all the salt," the offer. "It's very popular." Leggs says that their thick-cut bacon sells "two to three times that."

At Kevin Smith's Linsington Farm, which is the thick-cut bacon, the King County based provider says he's selling thick-cut, natural smoke-baked bacon made from premium pork, with "no additives, preservatives or hormones—no pork added." Smith says his bacon is twice as thick as most commercial brands, and part of the reason for that is that naturally smoked bacon is inherently drier, "so it would fall apart if you didn't slice it thicker." At eight dollars a pack it's not an expensive indulgence, and "we always sell out," he says. Smith predicts "the natural, non-commercial preparation of bacon will continue to grow in leaps and bounds." Thicker doesn't

fashioned and hand-crafted. "People are interested in how their food is raised and where it comes from," says Smith. "And then there's the taste," adds the woman picking up Linsington's half package of the pig.

Back at Paul in Vancouver, a few slices of extra-thick bacon are being thrown into a hot pan by a chef who is about to make a sandwich. "When it's thick like this, you get a good chew," explains chef Belcham, "meatier, and good salt too. It's too thin to just melt away." But perhaps it's all about the texture of the pork. Smith's is dry-cured, making it much more "porous" than regular bacon. To make their bacon of Paul, the chef bakes it and then bakes it bread-slicing. Half the pan, then he lets the bacon sit with oil and sugar and let it sit for a week. Then they slice it off and let it dry for a couple of days, after which they smoke it over applewood and maple for eight hours. They dry it again from the night in the cold room at the back for a couple of days, smoke it again, dry again, then hang it until it's all used up. "It's just being inured for long," says the chef.

At some other firms it's enjoying a piggyback bacon and egg sandwich ("not a little bit by any means," jokes the chef) that was made from Italian bread, house-made meat, house-made lettuce, a fried egg and more mayo. "When you wake up and smell bacon you know it's going to be a good day," says a brennig Belcham's.

TODAY'S SPECIAL... CHOCOLATE JEWELLERY

A French jeweller, Le Boulouche, is commemorating its 150 years in business by creating a chocolate-covered gold necklace. The necklace "Maison" is adorned with "scales" of different shades of chocolate. Resting on its extended tongue is a brown-toned 20-ct-carat diamond. The make was created with the help of the celebrated Parisian candy-maker Le Miroir du Chocolat. No price has been set.



HARDYING: Naomi Watts bears witness as psychopaths torture her family in Michael Haneke's U.S. remake of his own *Fanny Gassman*

Brutality in the eye of the beholder

Nothing is more violent in the movies than when the director plays with your head

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • How do you like your movie violence? Served straight up or sweetened with righteous sentiment? Should it be repulsive or satisfying? Offensive or gratifying? And when blood splatters across the screen, just how do you envision its artistic merit—by the diameter of its arc, or the moral force of its impact? Questions like these are more intriguing than ever in light of *Till* C-10—the controversial legislation that would retroactively deny tax credits to Canadian movies *Gwyneth Paltrow*—a broad category that includes films deemed "excessively violent without an educational value."

This week offers an opportunity to confront violence as it comes through the release of two American pictures from opposite ends of the cinematic spectrum. In the case corner, representing high art, is *Fanny Gassman*, U.S. Australian director Michael Haneke's English-language remake of his own provocative 1997 thriller about an affluent couple tormented by two young psychopaths. In the other corner, talking trash, is *Never Back Down*, which fuses mixed martial arts with a teen-flick formula, as a high-school football hero and a would-be lightweight gladiator over again. By standards of contemporary horror, neither film is especially gory. But both stage gallons of blood lust, and dance idiosyncratic dances around the viewer's right to relish the violence they portray.

With *Fanny Gassman* U.S., Haneke made his original film virtually shut for that. Naomi Watts and Tim Roth sail on the shores of the bourgeois husband-and-wife who, with their son, become terrified hostages in their good summer home. As the police young people turn to their wayward mother house, Michael Pitt (The Dreamer) and Brady Corbet (The

son) look more and more creepily Asian than the psychics in the German-language original. *Fanny Gassman* is a tour de force with school boy shocks of bright blond hair. Except for one thick scene designed to expose the viewer's own blood lust, none of the violence in the film seems off-screen, which makes it no less harrowing. Violating Hollywood's rules means every step of the way, that is a plot in which the worst possible things happen.

We empathize with the victims' tragedy—over more in the remake because Watts is so compelling. But the nihilist psychos, who anguished the action as sadistic comedy, seem closer to the filmmaker, who's engaged in his own game of torture. They even speak at the camera. "I'm making the viewer a witness of the killing," says Haneke. "And as the real I myself has for this position. It's a pleasure to show the viewer how easily he can be manipulated."

Too easy, perhaps. David Cronenberg does something similar, but with more humanity and less condescension. In a world of self-referential media, deconstructing screen violence has become a cliché. The real power of Haneke's film is more old-fashioned: the excruciating suspense of watching terror unfold inexorably close to home through the eyes of a brilliant screen. But Haneke is right: *Fanny Gassman* should be offensive.

Never Back Down goes out of its way to make it palatable. Sean Penn, who resembles a young John Cena, plays Jake, a first athlete from Iowa who moves with his family to Colorado, and is plunged into a perpetual March break of restaurant, attack card and pool parties. Jake's reputation precedes him, thanks to an intense clip of him beating up a guy for grading him about his dad—who died behind the wheel after Jake let him drive drunk. *Never Back Down* and our mid-manhood hunk turns into a raging hulk—which is what happens when he's killed in a party by a blood hater (Amber Heard) and drawn into a brawl with her boyfriend, who was an underdog fighter (Josh Harts). *Never Back Down* is a martial arts guru (Djimon Hounsou), who trains him as the students that he never fights outside the gym. He's there.

The script is thick with platitudes about the evils of vengeance, and of YouTube turning down heads into spectator sport. But no brawl, so none. With a hypocritical head, *Never Back Down* goes up to its teeth. It's all about the guilty pleasure of watching your favorite words of old and dust and mud on hand power. Despite the ring and its halo, this is a homoerotic spectacle. Not that there's anything wrong with that; the fight is so superbly thought-provoked. What's amazing is how the film glorifies violence while pretending not to—one out of two of educational "value" and violent excess that delivers a knockout blow to the brain. ■

WE'RE STALKING... GEORGE CLOONEY

The star of *Michael Clayton* is also the prince of media mischief. While reporters make writing about rumors he might be engaged to wedded Susan Sarandon, Clooney was busy having fun with them. He says the task of getting a leading man like me and merge a picture that would be worse than any pain. He also said he'd be a great guy. He says the movies have not of his friends. "It's the new thing," he says. "I'll be back."





ADULT CHILDREN should spend 72 hours in their parents' home, keenly observing their habits while they're still feeding fat themselves.

On the plus side, singer Amy Winehouse seems to be coming back on her smoking. On the negative side, according to a London tabloid that nicknamed her "Wino," she recently batted out by falling a cigarette on her own face. She'd responded to a demand from her Jewish mother to suffer for her smoking habit. After she used her cheek as an ashtray, "Wino" covered the wound, which became infected, with makeup. She's said to be recovering.

1960-2000

She was stylish and bubbly and she loved to talk.
 'To say goodbye to Tilly always took time.'

Mila Lale "Tilly" Simpson was born on Feb. 25, 1916, in Windsor, Man., to David, a history teacher, and Susan, a chemist and French teacher, a couple who had immigrated to nearby Oak Lake from England the year before. Tilly's childhood was peripatetic: The Simpsons moved around the province and then back to the U.K.—twice—before finally settling in Manitoba for good on New Year's Day, 1933. The family, including Tilly's brothers Stephen and David and her sister Jane, shunned accents so much, says Stephen, that their couldn't count the number of puny schools Tilly attended, although it sounds as if her mind that she was advanced a term as an English school because of her facility with language. "I appreciated the fact that Tilly was a student in a language from the same high school"—the MacGregor Collegiate Institute in MacGregor, Man., he says.

From her youngest days, Tilly was a voracious reader who "spoke in complete, coherent paragraphs like she was reading a text," Tophen says. Still, "she had real trouble learning to write." And although Tilly was a crossword addict who learned German from a correspond-
ent course and taught herself to read French, she disliked formal education. She was at Princeton University for just a year before switching to the University of Wisconsin and leaving those studies of English behind. "She was a student,

But she really struggled with the horrors of academia," Stephens says. "We wanted to read what she wanted to read, when she wanted to read it," he says. "And write what she wanted to write." Tilly's style—cracking to the beautiful high-falootin' as she learned to sew—was unique. She wrote it lipstick with her whatever she wants, and was always perfectly turned out. "Don't ask me what her original hair colour was," Stephens says. "I think she started to dye it when she was nine or so."

Tilly loved movies, particularly Hitchcock thrillers, and music. In 1980, on Halloween, Tilly and her former husband, Michael McElane, in a Winnipeg punk-rock bar called Verruca. He played guitar on the band Supersmasher, but he wasn't playing that night. "In fact, I didn't even let him bring out," Michael remembers. They were introduced by a mutual friend and married seven years later on April 23 ("Shakespeare's birthday," as Tilly would say). Michael recalls: "While his day job as a shipbroker/producer was more

Tilly worked at a variety of jobs—she did publicity for a theatre group, she wrote for the local newspaper and served as an executive assistant at the Canadian Auto Workers union—and always part-time.

She devoted herself to her house in Winnipeg's one-lined Fort Rouge neighbourhood, to her herb and flower garden, her cats Owen and Sophie, and her family and friends. According to Karen Levine back when most Tiberiuses were makers, she was the original housewife.

of the Slow Movement. "Tilly was bubbly, but she always tried to slow life down a little bit," Karna says. She made time to talk, rather on the phone or from Karna's car, parked in Tilly's driveway after Karla Andre's bar home from a book club meeting. "She would sit in the car forever," Karna says. "That was very Tilly. She'd hang at the door. She'd give you a hug, a kiss. To say goodbye to Tilly always took time."

Tilly never learned to drive. "She didn't feel like she wanted to," Michael says. "Maybe the folk she was not temperamentally suited to be with. Whichever drivers, I don't blame her." Instead, Tilly used to buy a Peugeot bicycle, which the reader around town on the good weather dressed in her trademark skirt and stylish John Fluevog shoes. Every winter, she regularly took out her trusty

Tilly's last job was as administrative support at Macdonald Youth Services, a youth charity in downtown Winnipeg. Her friend's words when she talks about how she met A man who lived at one didn't make her wait for her to go by say hello, Lisa says. "Tilly reminds my spouse, people's children, their lives. It's a constant everybody."

On Feb. 12 at about 9:30 a.m., Tilly had walked south on Seaford Street near her home and was standing on the median at Great Avenue, a street where there is a long space between lights, to catch her car and bus for work. There was a bus coming and she thought it was hers, a woman later told Michael. She was running across the street, expecting it to slow down. It didn't. Tilly was struck by an out of service City of Winnipeg Transit bus. She died in St. Boniface hospital of her injuries. She was 47. ■

INTRODUCTION



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